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### SOME OF QUEEN ISABELLA'S DESCENDANTS

THE period between the discovery of America by Columbus and the establishment of the first permanent settlement on the coast of what is now the United States is one of peculiar interest. Nearly four generations of men lived and died while the germs of our nationality were still in the air, so to speak. Queen Isabella stands out in bold relief as the promoter of the expedition to an unknown land through which was planted the chief milestone in the advance of civilization. But a whole century rolled on before her descendants gave much heed to the possibilities of the new world she had aided in discovering. Her immediate successors had no confidence in any northern enterprise. "To the south! to the south!" was the cry, and all the strength and resources that Spain could spare from her home wars were directed to the prosecution of her discoveries and conquests in South America.

Private adventurers and now and then some fishermen visited the wilds and wastes of North America, at different points and at various dates, and a few flags were raised and colonies planted that soon disappeared, but its geography further than its coast outline remained almost wholly an enigma to the European powers. In 1525, nine years after the death of Ferdinand, when his grandson, the afterwards famous Emperor Charles V., was twenty-five years of age, Estevan Gomez, who had been the chief pilot of Magellan in completing what Ferdinand had projected, the circumnavigation of the southern continent, made a voyage in the interests of Spain to find some northern strait to Cathay. He is believed to have cruised along the North American coasts as far as the Hudson river and the shores of Maine, and on his return he made a chart which was embodied in the planisphere by Ribero, now preserved in the British museum. Beyond this crude drawing Gomez accomplished very little. He caught a few American Indians and carried them as trophies to Charles V., and on arriving at Coruna dispatched a courier to the Spanish court with the news; but the courtiers mistook slaves (*esclavos*) for cloves, which was what Gomez had promised to bring home with him should he reach Cathay, and there was great expectation and excitement until the ludi-

crous blunder was corrected. "Then," says the quaint chronicler of the incident, "there was much laughter." "They that seek riches," wrote Peter Martyr, "must not go to the frozen north!"

France had one year earlier, in 1524, sent the Italian navigator Verrazano to search for a gateway through North America to the jeweled cities of the east, and he had cruised along the coast from the Carolinas to Nova Scotia, the chief result of which voyage was a chart which, like that of Gomez, tended to enlarge in a very limited fashion the boundaries of knowledge. But for a long time afterward the French were too much occupied with fruitless expeditions into Italy, and in an unequal contest with the power and policy of Emperor Charles V., and also by the civil wars with which France was desolated for nearly half a century, to speculate amidst such miseries about a forlorn wilderness beyond the ocean. England during the first half of that remarkable century was also in a weak condition, the consequence of intestine broils or unwise interference in the affairs of her neighbors. Her immense navy which subsequently enabled her to give law to the ocean was then scarcely in embryo, and her commerce about the year 1550 had become so nearly extinct that bankruptcy appeared for a time inevitable. Native produce was in no demand, foreign importations had ceased, and a singular monopoly consisting chiefly of the factors of extensive mercantile houses in Antwerp and Hamburg had obtained control of her markets, and vampire like was sucking her remnant of strength.

Henry VII., the first of the Tudor kings, died in 1509, and his son Henry VIII., then eighteen years of age, succeeded to the crown. In the year 1489, three years before the discovery of America, Henry VII. had sent commissioners to Ferdinand and Isabella with a proposition to unite the interests of England and Spain through the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, with Katharine of Aragon. The two babies, Katharine about ten months older than Arthur, were accordingly betrothed. Katharine's education began early, under the supervision of her queen mother, and she could read and write in Latin by the time she was seven years old. The love-letters that passed between Arthur and Katharine were all composed in Latin, but it was many long years before she could converse or write well in English. In the spring of 1501 the young woman, then sixteen, was sent to England to become the bride of Prince Arthur, who was fifteen years of age. Their nuptials were celebrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, and Katharine was honored with a grand pageant almost too gorgeous for description. "She rode a large mule, after the manner of Spain, the young duke of York riding on her right and the legate of Rome on her left hand.

She wore on her head a broad round hat the shape of a cardinal's, tied with a lace of gold which kept it on her head. She had a coif of carnation color under this hat, and her rich auburn hair streamed over her shoulders. Her governess, Donna Elvira, rode near the princess, dressed entirely in black, with a kerchief on her head, and black cloths hanging down beside her cheeks like a religious woman. Four Spanish ladies followed on mules, wearing the same broad hats as their mistress. An English lady dressed in cloth of gold and riding a palfrey was appointed to lead the mule of each Spanish damsel; but as those ladies did not sit on the same side in riding as the English equestrians, each pair seemed to ride back to back, as if they had quarreled." The bride-elect went direct to the bishop's palace, and when prepared for the wedding ceremony she was led by Henry (afterward Henry VIII.), then a boy of eleven, from the bishop's palace to St. Paul's. She wore upon her head a coif of white silk, with a scarf bordered with gold and pearls and precious stones, five inches and a half broad, which veiled a great part of her face. Her gown was very large, both the sleeves and also the body with many plaits. Prince Arthur attired in white satin appeared on the other side of the mount; and the hands of the princely pair were joined by the archbishop of Canterbury, nineteen bishops and mitred abbots assisting. The bride and bridegroom then followed the archbishop and prelates to the high altar, the Princess Cicely carrying Katharine's train, followed by a hundred ladies in costly apparel. After mass Prince Arthur, according to the ancient custom of England, at the great door of the cathedral, in the presence of the multitude, endowed his bride with one third of his property. The bridal pair soon after took up their abode at Ludlow Castle in Shropshire, where they were to govern the principality of Wales, holding a miniature court modeled like that at Westminster. But within six months Arthur died.

Two months after the accession of Henry VIII. to England's throne in 1509, there was another wedding in which Katharine was the bride. Henry VIII. married his brother's widow, and aside from political reasons was evidently very proud and fond of her. When the young English king and Spanish queen proceeded to the palace of Westminster for their coronation it is recorded that of all the pageants prepared for royalty, this was the most ideal and beautiful. Katharine was then twenty-four, and Lord Herbert says "few women could compete with her." She was attired as a bride in white embroidered satin; her hair which was very beautiful hung at length down her back, almost to her feet, and on her head was a coronet set with many rich stones. She was seated in a litter of white cloth of

gold, borne by two white horses. She was followed by the female nobility of England, drawn in whirlicotes, a species of vehicle that preceded the use of coaches.

It was not long before Henry VIII. was at war with France, and when he invaded France in person, he intrusted Katharine with the highest powers ever bestowed on a female regent in England. The reins of government were not only placed in her hands, but she was made captain of all the king's forces, with the assistance of five nobles. She conducted affairs with consummate tact and discretion, worthy the daughter of the great Queen Isabella. She possessed many of the best characteristics of her mother, sweetness, benevolence, and unstained integrity of word and action. The same year that Katharine's father, King Ferdinand, died, 1516, Mary, Katharine's only daughter, was born. The following year Emperor Charles V., eldest son of Katharine's insane sister Joanna, visited England and enjoyed three days' banqueting at Canterbury with King Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine of Aragon, after which Katharine entertained her imperial nephew for six days at Calais. In 1522 Emperor Charles V. was again in England to remain six weeks, and Katharine received him standing in the hall-door at Greenwich palace, holding the little Princess Mary by the hand. His ostensible errand on this occasion was to betroth himself to this little cousin Mary, then six years old. The little girl became well acquainted with him during his visit, and was taught to consider herself as his empress. The union accorded with the political arrangements between Charles V. and Henry VIII., and the emperor engaged to marry Princess Mary when she attained her twelfth year; but in the course of the summer of 1525 Emperor Charles V. was privately engaged to Isabel of Portugal, which was the first sorrow experienced by the unfortunate Mary, and he was married before the end of that year. He was at that time burning with indignation at private intelligence which had reached him that Henry VIII. meditated a divorce from Queen Katharine, and the consequent disinheriting of her daughter Mary. He justified his own conduct by a sharp letter of reproach to Henry VIII. As time rolled on and the miseries of Katharine and Mary culminated, the whole European sky blackened with storms. The fidelity of the child to her mother was the assertion of a right to be next in succession to the crown, and if Katharine escaped with Mary from England to the continent it was clear that war would instantly follow. Thus mother and daughter were forcibly separated. Emperor Charles V. hesitated about interfering, as he did not wish to add Henry to the list of his enemies, with Germany unsettled, with the Turks in Hungary, with Barbarossa's





GRANDSON OF QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

[Facsimile of an engraving of the famous portrait by Titian.]

corsair fleet commanding the Mediterranean and harassing the Spanish coast, with another French war visibly ahead, and a renewed invasion of Italy. There were clever statesmen who tried to persuade him that the English king was the centre of all the disorder which disturbed the world, but Charles knew better than they the magnitude of the danger they asked him to confront. He wished to befriend his mother's sister and his unhappy cousin, but he had discouraged their secret departure from England when it was proposed to him, because if they were in his dominions war could no longer be avoided. It was represented that their lives were in danger, and when Mary was prostrated with a dangerous illness no physician was willing to attend her, lest, if she died, he would be accused of having administered poison. Katharine begged that her sick daughter might be under her own care, and to refuse such a request seemed cruel in the extreme. But Henry suspected mischief. He said: "Katharine is of such high courage that with her daughter at her side she might raise an army and take the field against me with as much spirit as her mother Isabel."

The death of Katharine in 1536 did not bring harmony to the courts of Europe. Events rushed on. The final dissolution of the monasteries took place in 1539, the same year that the six articles were adopted forming the new church in England, which was followed by a persecution of the reformers. Aside from domestic tragedies, the execution of a great many Catholics, reformers and nobles, distinguished the close of Henry's reign. He died in 1547. Mary had been for some time regarded as the head of the Catholic party, and her situation was painful in the extreme through the legal slaughter of most of her friends. During the reign of Edward VI. she took no part in politics, though she was denied the full enjoyment of her religion. Emperor Charles V. threatened war if she were not exempted from the penalties prepared for non-conformists, and she was suspected of intending to take refuge at his court. This great emperor lost the most magnificent opportunity of that remarkable century through wholly misunderstanding the age in which he lived. Although half of the globe was his by inheritance he was much too dextrous in petty intrigues to guide and govern and develop his vast possessions. During the thirty years of his reign he might easily have moulded the great reformation to his will and opened North America to civilization. But his energies were frittered away and wasted, and he left at his death both the church and the state in wretched disorder, having set one-half of Christendom in arms against the other and permanently arrested the progress of southern Europe. His famous abdication of his numerous



QUEEN MARY I. OF ENGLAND, GRANDDAUGHTER OF QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

*[Facsimile of a painting in possession of Rt. Hon. the Earl of Oxford.]*

crowns in 1555 in favor of his son Philip II. is well known, to whom also he would have resigned the empire had not Germany held the young prince in great aversion on account of his Spanish education and bigoted ideas; that crown was therefore transferred to the emperor's brother Ferdinand.

Henry VIII. had been succeeded by his son Edward VI., when ten years old, whose uncle, the Duke of Somerset, acted as regent with the title of lord-protector. In the six years following, the reformation made great progress in England. But when John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, obtained the ascendancy and caused Somerset to be executed, the boy king was persuaded to exclude Mary and Elizabeth from the throne. He died in 1553, and Mary succeeded him after a brief but fierce struggle with the partisans of Dudley and the Greys. In the first part of her reign she was merciful to her enemies, and interfered with her privy council to prevent cruelty. Her resolution to marry her cousin Philip of Spain, however, caused an ominous alarm, and insurrections followed of a serious character among her subjects, in quelling which she displayed wonderful courage and ability. She was eleven years older than Philip, who was twenty-seven at this date. When the arrangements were perfected for their union he came from Valladolid, where he had been governing Spain as regent for his insane grandmother, Queen Joanna, arriving in England in July, 1554. It was a droll vehicle in which Queen Mary I. and her ladies went out to meet the royal bridegroom. Mary's order for it, in her own handwriting, reads: "One *waggon* of timber work with wheels, axletrees, and benches: and fine *red cloth* to cover the said waggon, fringed with *red silk*, and lined with *red buckram*: the waggon to be painted outside with *red*. Also collars, draughts, and harness of *red leather*; a hammercloth, with our arms and badges of our colors, and all things pertaining to the said *waggon*, which is for the ladies and gentlewomen of our privy chamber."

Queen Mary made her public entry into Winchester July 23, in the midst of a furious storm of rain and wind, and took up her abode in the Episcopal Palace. She had sent a magnificent state barge to meet Philip, and other barges to accommodate the Spanish officers of state who accompanied him, of whom the Duke of Alba was the chief in rank. When Philip placed his foot on English soil he found a large concourse of English nobles and gentry waiting to receive him, and was immediately presented with the Order of the Garter, which was buckled below his knee by the Earl of Arundel, and he was invested with a mantle of blue velvet, fringed with gold and pearl. Mary's first interview with her affianced husband took place the next evening, and the lovers conversed in Spanish for half an hour. Before Philip retired he asked Mary to teach him the proper English words wherewith to take leave of her lords at parting for the night, and she drilled him in saying "Good night, my lords, all of you." He learned the lesson so well that he quite surprised his escort on return-



PHILIP II. OF SPAIN, GREAT-GRANDSON OF QUEEN ISABELLA.

*[Facsimile of engraving of the portrait by Titian.]*

ing to his palatial quarters. The marriage took place in great state on the 25th of July—an event fatal to Mary's happiness ; and, England and Rome becoming reconciled, the shocking persecutions commenced which disgraced her name and reign. For Philip's sake she involved England in a war with France, and the French army captured Calais, which the English



had held for more than two centuries. War with France precipitated a war with Scotland. Philip treated Mary with coldness and neglect, and the nobles of the realm complained that from the day of Mary's marriage Philip of Spain ruled virtually in every measure, domestic or foreign, in the kingdom of England.

In 1555 Philip responded to the summons of his father, Emperor Charles V., who was about to consummate his abdication scheme, and left Mary on a sick-bed, where it was daily expected she would surrender her life. It was an unhealthy year in England, owing to incessant floods of rain. The Thames rose so high that Westminster hall was under water and wherries rowed through it. There was almost a famine in the kingdom, and insurrections and persecutions prevailed. The French minister gossips about Queen Mary at this period, telling how she parted from her husband with the most passionate tears and lamentations, and how she wept and bewailed herself piteously every time he withdrew any of his belongings that he had left behind, showing that he never meant to return, and adds, "She wastes all her time in tears and in writing to her absent husband." In the spring of 1557 Philip paid her a visit, and the day after his arrival "orders were issued for *Te Deum laudamus* to be sung in every church in London, and with *ringing* great praise to God." Philip and Mary appeared before the citizens, the lord mayor bearing their sceptre in advance, and all the chief dignitaries and nobles of the kingdom attended in gorgeous raiment. The occasion was one to be remembered, as it concerned the newly formed Muscovy Company, in which the aged and justly celebrated Sebastian Cabot was the first governor. This company had been recently founded for discovery through the Polar seas to the north of Europe, hoping to find Cathay by that route and resuscitate England's vanishing commerce; but Russia, then scarcely known to western Europe, had been reached instead of Cathay, and an interview with Emperor Ivan the Terrible had resulted in the establishment of a lucrative trade between the two countries. A duke of Muscovy had landed in England a short time prior to Philip's arrival, who astonished all beholders by the enormous size of the pearls and gems he wore. He was treated with great distinction at the gloomy *fittes* connected with Philip's visit, and the sick queen gave the Muscovite an audience in her own chamber with some merchants and aldermen of London. Thus in Mary's reign the seed was sown and took root which bore such rich fruit in after years in the productive industry of England, while intercourse with the English secured to the Russians civilization, intelligence, and comfort. But for at least fifty years after its organization this Muscovy Company absorbed the energy



and the surplus capital of the English nation, and little was attempted in America save unimportant settlements which came to nothing.

After Philip next embarked for the continent Mary never saw him more. He subsequently became very angry because she would not force her Protestant sister Elizabeth into an "unwilling marriage" with the Prince of Savoy. He said it was her duty to do so if she regarded the future welfare of her religion. The ambassador to whom Philip confided this negotiation for the hand of Elizabeth was his beautiful cousin Christine of Denmark, who like all the descendants of Queen Isabella possessed great talents for government, and was an active politician. She was the daughter of Isabella, sister of Emperor Charles V., and had been the ornament of his imperial court. Mary did not give this lady, who was also *her* own cousin, a gracious reception, for she had heard rumors of Philip's partiality for her, and in an excess of jealousy cut her husband's picture to pieces with her own hand.

Philip through his father's legacy had become sovereign of the most powerful and extensive empire in the world, including the low countries, a great part of Italy, the whole of Spain, and the vast Spanish possessions in South America, Africa, and the East Indies. He is described as a small man, much below the middle height, with thin legs, a narrow chest, and the shrinking, timid air of a habitual invalid. He had the face of a Fleming, with the manners of a Spaniard. His complexion was cane-colored, his hair sandy and thin, his eyes blue with heavy lids and gloomy expression, his beard yellow, short, and pointed, with a heavy hanging lip, a large mouth, and protruding lower jaw. He looked constantly on the ground when he conversed, and seemed embarrassed in speaking. Motley says this was partly because of "a natural haughtiness which he occasionally endeavored to overcome, and partly owing to habitual pains in the stomach caused by his inordinate fondness for pastry." He had considerable ability, and was an indefatigable writer of dispatches, spending nearly all his time in his cabinet with his ministers and secretaries. His main object in life was to root out heresy with fire and sword. His ambition for the aggrandizement of his empire was always subordinate to his concern for the Catholic church. Under his rule the most terrible barbarities were inflicted on the Protestants. The people finally rose in a powerful insurrection. Philip was unwittingly responsible for the marvelous leap of the Dutch into public importance, and the subsequent settlement of New York by that nation. His outrageous cruelties strengthened his enemies, and William of Orange, the great leader of the revolt of the Netherlands, conducted affairs wisely. In 1579, the seven

United Provinces formed the union of Utrecht, and during the rest of Philip's reign maintained their independence in the midst of vigorous war. The Dutch profited by Philip's war with England, for his ports being closed against English vessels, England was obliged to buy her spices, silks, and other Indian produce of the Dutch. But when in 1580 Portugal and Spain were united, Dutch vessels were excluded from Lisbon, which had long been the depot for Indian wares, and they were compelled, as it were, to seek a direct passage to the Orient. Thus originated the great commercial corporation known as the Dutch East India Company. The directors were mostly city nobles of the old school, and sending their vessels in the track of the Portuguese around Africa, the company became so prosperous that in twenty years it divided more than four times its original capital among the shareholders, besides having acquired a vast amount of property in colonies, fortifications, and vessels.

Philip had no scruples in offering a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns in gold to any assassin who would take the life of William of Orange, and issued in 1580 a formal ban declaring this eminent patriot "an outlaw and an enemy to the human race." Consequently William was murdered at Delft in 1584. Philip then bent all his energies to the conquest of England, from which country the Netherlands were constantly receiving assistance in men and money. He fitted out for this purpose, at enormous expense, the fleet known as the *Invincible Armada*, which was sent forth on its mission in 1588. The wonderful exploit of Sir Francis Drake in entering the harbor of Cadiz the year before, and destroying nearly one hundred of the men-of-war prepared for this fleet, delayed but did not prevent the expedition. In that performance the English admiral taught the world a new lesson in military tactics. By his captures he discovered the whole of Philip's plan. He also sailed homeward with one of the largest Spanish merchantmen afloat, the richest prize ever seen in England, for not only was its cargo valued at over a million dollars, but in it were papers which disclosed to English merchants all the mysteries and wealth of the East India trade. The Armada went on its mission and reached its destination in brilliant style, and the world knows how it was foiled and vanquished, partly by the elements and partly by the English fleet led by Sir Francis Drake and other distinguished commanders. Philip was calm as a statue when the news of this terrible disaster reached him. "The will of God be done," he said, "I sent my ships to fight with the English and not with the elements."

During Philip's long reign of forty-three years his relations with France were sometimes warlike and sometimes peaceful. Both his arms and his



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

money were freely given to aid the Catholics of that kingdom against the Huguenots. Soon after the death of Queen Mary, Philip offered himself to her sister and successor, Queen Elizabeth, and was unhesitatingly rejected. He then sought and obtained the hand of Isabella, daughter of Henry II. of France, who had succeeded his father, Francis I., in 1547.

The marriage was celebrated in 1559, after which Philip resided continuously in Spain.

As the Dutch grew in power through the hostilities which Philip had inaugurated, a second formidable corporation of merchants and others was founded by those who were opposed to peace with Spain under any conditions. They said the quarrel was in its nature irreconcilable and eternal, because it was despotism sacerdotal and regal arrayed against the spirit of rational human liberty. They thought a warlike band of private adventurers could conquer or ruin the Spanish settlements, seize the Spanish transports, and cut off all communication with Spain and her South American countries. This gigantic project was agitated for a dozen or more years prior to the death of Philip, but it met with determined opposition in the United Provinces. John of Barneveld advocated peace. The Dutch revolt was in itself the practical overthrow of religious tyranny. It was a healthy, and for the age an enlightened, movement. But theological disputes arose upon the ruins of popular delusions among the Protestants. Religious fanatics were anxious to prolong a war which would render the absolute government of magistrates impossible, and submission to the prince of Orange a political necessity. The peace party maintained the principle of excluding strangers from every employment, and of concentrating all public offices in a few patrician houses of the old stock. This increased the republican sentiment it was intended to crush. More than a hundred Protestant families had been driven from Belgium by the Spaniards, and had found their homes in Holland and Zeeland. The ruin of the ancient trade and opulence of Belgium and the sudden expansion of the Dutch republic were two sides of the same event. And these proud and fiery Belgian exiles were not inclined to submit to the policy of Barneveld. It was not, however, until after the great statesman was beheaded that the West India Company came into actual existence, and still meeting with determined opposition, the final and life-giving element in its career was a clause inserted in its constitution by which the extraordinary mercantile company curiously invested with such vast powers as made it almost a distinct and separate government—while war upon Spain was its chief purpose—obligated itself to people the territory of what is now New York.

## CAREER OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL JETHRO SUMNER

### ONE OF NORTH CAROLINA'S REVOLUTIONARY OFFICERS

Among the most active and efficient officers of the Revolution in the movement which led to the salvation of the Carolinas was General Jethro Sumner. He was exempt from some of the trials suffered by his compatriots. He was a man of large possessions, and his home was not in the track of the armies and suffered no injury from rude soldiery. His neighbors were all loyal to America, and we find no depredations of Tories or deserters in the county of Bute where he lived. This new county (pronounced Boot) had been named in honor of the first instructor and minister of George III., who became so odious that a favorite amusement among the populace was with groans of derision to throw an old jack-boot into a bonfire and dance around the crackling effigy. An early assembly of free North Carolina expunged the name of the marquis from the map and substituted Warren and Franklin for names of the new counties carved from the old. The court-house of Bute, where General Sumner's residence was located, was a few miles south of the present county seat of Warren.

General Sumner was born in 1733. His father was a vestryman of a parish of the Church of England, that of Suffolk. Associated with him was Andrew Meade, one of the wealthiest and most influential men of his day, father of Richard Kidder Meade, one of Washington's most trusted aids-de-camp throughout the Revolutionary war, and grandfather of the eminent Bishop William Meade. With Sumner and Meade were Edward and John Norfleet, Lemuel Riddick, Daniel Pugh, and John Gregory, members of prominent families in Virginia and North Carolina. It was the custom for the heads of the great families of each neighborhood to be placed on the vestries because, as church and state were united, they were civil as well as ecclesiastical officers. They levied taxes and enforced the laws. Most of the burgesses who made the laws were vestrymen. In the old vestry lists appear George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Edmund Pendleton, General Nelson, Governor Page, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason, and hundreds of others, the best men of Virginia. While nominal adhesion to the Church of England was required, no exhibition of piety or religious behavior was a condition precedent or subsequent for holding the office. In many cases parsons were not patterns for their flocks. I

give only one instance out of many to illustrate this statement. One of the colonial parsons engaged in a fisticuff fight with his vestry and signalized his success over his adversaries by a triumphant sermon on the following Sunday on the text from the prophet Nehemiah, "I contended with them and cursed them, and smote certain of them and plucked off their hair." It is to the credit of the vestry of Suffolk that they ejected from their church one Balfour who was guilty of drunkenness and profanity. Of course there were numbers of excellent men, but when bad examples were not uncommon it could not be expected that the laity should have a much higher standard of godly piety.

The East Virginia planters of colonial days were a race of striking virtues, but with many defects both as to character and conduct. They were high-spirited, brave, and truthful. They were loyal to the English crown, but they understood their rights and were always ready to defend them. As their plantations supplied them with nearly all the necessities of life and they had a surplus sufficient to furnish the guns and powder and shot, the tea and coffee and sugar, the ribbons, the laces, and other knickknacks which the fair sex of all ages and under every clime must have to gild the refined gold of their natural charms, they were in heart and habit independent. The country mansions were the theatres of generous hospitality and kindness. There was lavish abundance of home-made productions. There was not much traveling when thirty-five or forty miles a day over rough roads and dangerous ferries were the rule, but the people were free from the feverish restlessness engendered by our railroads and steamboats. Visits to relatives and friends on occasions of weddings, natal days, Christmas holidays, and to the great world at Norfolk or Richmond, or the capital Williamsburg, were productive of more thrilling pleasure than the frequent and stale modern excursions to seaside or to mountain. These trips to the town gave glimpses into the world of fashion. Theatrical companies aped the acting of London and Paris, and the great balls brought out powdered wigs, bespangled coats, magnitudinous hoops and gorgeous silks and ruffles, which would have passed muster in the circles beyond the Atlantic.

The colonial planters were devoted to horses, and boasted justly that they owned scions of the best racers of England. They had frequent races, and both sexes thought it no harm to bet on them, the men heavily, often to the impairment of their fortunes, the ladies seldom venturing beyond a pair of gloves. Foxes abounded so as to threaten the existence of lambs and poultry; great hunts were not only a sport but a necessity. These were rounded off with bountiful feasts and drinking frolics, thereby caus-



ing the name of fox-hunting to be synonymous with reckless dissipation. Cock-fighting and gambling at cards were considered respectable in those "good old days." Grand balls assembled the young and the old for the stately minuet and the lively Virginia reel, and weddings were celebrated with festivities which lasted for many days. They were a gay and fun-loving people.

The young men learned the art of horsemanship not only in fox-chases but by constant habit of visiting and traveling on horseback. So deep-rooted was this fashion that a traveler of that day avers that he has often seen men walk five miles to catch a horse in order to ride one. The use of fire-arms was learned by practice in hunting bears and deer, wild turkeys and squirrels, and other game so numerous as to seriously threaten the existence of food crops. Shooting-matches, too, were common, the victor not only winning the stake but receiving the plaudits of admiring neighborhoods.

There was little of what we call education. A few boys received college training at William and Mary. Still fewer were sent to the great schools or universities of England, but the greater part were content with reading and writing and a little arithmetic. The writing was invariably legible, but much liberty in spelling was allowable. Shakespeare spelled his own name in four different ways one hundred and fifty years before, and his example of independency was followed in colonial times. If Washington and his generals had not fought better than they spelled, Clinton and Cornwallis would have shaken hands over a subjugated country. In General Sumner's will the county of "Isle of Wight" is spelled "Ilewhite." The gallant Murfree writes of "legenary coors" (legionary corps). Uniform spelling came in with Webster's blue-back spelling-book. The colonial gentleman was likewise too proud to be willing to submit himself to the strict grammatical rules of the solemn pedant who posed as the predecessor of Lindley Murray.

But while there was little education from books, there was a most valuable training from the exigencies of life in a country full of natural resources, but requiring for their development incessant watchfulness and incessant toil. The carrying the chain and the compass through thickets almost impenetrable and swamps almost impassable, the felling of forests, the defense from floods, the war of extermination against wild animals, the occasional march to help the settlers of the mountain lands to repel the hostile or to barter for furs with the friendly Indians, the rough sports on horse and on foot—all these, joined with watchful criticism and discussion of their rights by charter and by inheritance, made a hardy, self-reliant,

independent, proud, and daring people. They were as a rule respectful to those in authority, friendly and courteous to their equals, kind and considerate to their inferiors, but equally ready when angered by encroachment upon their rights to resist fiercely, to avenge insults, to crush insubordination even with cruelty.

I have been minute in depicting the habits and the character of the people among whom young Jethro Sumner was trained up to manhood, because in describing them I have pictured him. His removal to North Carolina did not change him for the better or for the worse. Hardly had he reached maturity before a contest broke out of tremendous influence on the destinies of this country. This was the great struggle between the French and the English for the ownership of the magnificent territory drained by the Mississippi and the great lakes and their tributaries. The French sought by connecting Quebec and New Orleans with chains of forts and by gaining the alliance of powerful Indian tribes to confine the English between the ocean and the Alleghenies. If this plan should succeed, the hated Gauls with their corrupt despotic government and Roman Catholic religion would dominate the western world, as under the Grand Monarque Louis XIV. they had dominated Europe. The English colonies would be stunted in their growth and possibly be swallowed up finally by their powerful neighbor. The colonies saw their danger and from Maine to Georgia they declared for war.

Jethro Sumner was an actor in this great struggle. Bearing a letter of commendation from Governor Dinwiddie to Colonel Washington, he was in 1758 appointed a lieutenant in a Virginia regiment of which William Byrd was colonel, General Joseph Forbes being commander-in-chief. Washington had been endeavoring with insufficient means to defend the long frontier from the terrible savages, whose destruction of property and slaughter and torture of the settlers, old and young, male and female, had been inconceivably horrible. No effectual stoppage could be put to their ravages without the capture of Fort du Quesne. Forbes determined to lead an expedition against it. Washington urged that the old Braddock road should be followed. Interested speculators in Pennsylvania persuaded old General Forbes, now in the last stages of disease, to cut a new road through the wilderness of that state. Fifty days were occupied in going fifty miles. Forbes's second in command, Colonel Henry Bouquet, desirous of winning all the glory, pushed forward Major Grant with about eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginians. Like Braddock's, his force was utterly defeated. The Virginians saved the detachment from annihilation, as they saved the remains of Braddock's forces.

The winter was coming on. The fierce winds began to blow; the snow began to whiten the hills. The general and his council of war talked of delaying the march till spring. Washington begged to be allowed to lead the van with his provincials, who were clamoring for an onward move. Through all difficulties, watching against ambuscades, infusing his indomitable spirit into his men, he pressed on. The French officer saw that he had an officer of brains and daring in his front, and setting fire to the wood-work of the fort he fled with his troops down the Ohio. On the 25th of November, 1758, Washington and his brave troops marched into the ruined fortress. Jethro Sumner was one of those daring men who gained for the Anglo-Saxon race the control of the Ohio, and started their onward march, which from that day has had no backward move, and ninety years later climbed the lofty Rockies and planted the starry flag on the shores of the Pacific.

His were likewise among the kindly hands which, after the victory was gained, reverently and tenderly gathered the bones of Braddock's men, whitened by the sun, and amidst the solemn silence of the interminable forest gave them Christian burial. A great city whose smoke from a thousand factories overshadowed the scenes of those old fightings commemorates by its name of Pittsburgh the sagacious and daring war minister who prepared the victory.

Although Washington after his great object was gained, being elected a member of the assembly, resigned his colonelcy and carried his lovely bride to enjoy the festivities of Williamsburg, Sumner remained in service until his regiment was disbanded in 1761. He was evidently an officer of merit. An order published in the colonial records of North Carolina, dated November 26, 1760, from Colonel Bouquet, his superior, shows that he was intrusted with separate command at Fort Bedford. His regiment marched twice into the Cherokee country as far as Holston river, while Colonel Grant with an army of twenty-six hundred men terribly avenged the massacre of the garrison of Fort Loudon. For their services grants of land were authorized to be given to the discharged officers and soldiers who had served during the war—five thousand acres to field officers, three thousand to captains, two thousand to subaltern and staff officers, two hundred to non-commissioned officers, and fifty to privates. Sumner having reached the grade of captain was entitled to three thousand acres.

This war prepared the way for American independence. It taught the colonists their own strength. It taught them how to fight, and, what is of still more importance, that they could fight. When they themselves had protected the arrogant British regulars from destruction, when they had

seen the superiority of their own officers to those of the mother country, the superiority of Washington, for example, over Braddock, the traditional idea of colonial inferiority vanished forever. They learned the value of union. They learned the value of organization and discipline. The war was a training school for their officers—for Washington and Mercer, Sumner and Montgomery, Putnam and Morgan, and many others.

After his return to Nansemond young Sumner determined to change his home. Only an imaginary line separates North Carolina from Virginia. There has been for two centuries a steady movement of population from the dearer lands of the valley of the James to the cheaper lands drained by the streams which flow into the Albemarle and the upper waters of the Tar. The Sumners, the Eatons, the Mannings, Smiths of Scotland Neck, the Ransoms, the Armsteads, the Riddicks, the Norfleets, the Saunderses, the Lewises, the Ruffins, the Camerons, the Battles, the Plummers, the Bakers, the Pughs, the Winstons, the Winbornes, the Hunters, the Bridgerses, the Thomases, the Taylors, and hundreds, perhaps thousands of others, were all old Virginia families. Some changed their homes because, being younger sons, they had no share in the paternal lands, others because high living or losses by gaming had worsted their estates, others to exchange a few acres for many equally fertile, or old fields for virgin forest, others to escape by settlement among the rolling hills of Bute and the country westward the miasmatic diseases of the low country. But for whatever cause they migrated they changed neither their opinions nor their practices nor their business habits. They still sent their produce to Virginia markets—Richmond, Petersburg, or Norfolk. Returning wagons brought back the tea and coffee and sugar and molasses and ladies' finery. They kept their accounts in both Virginia and North Carolina currency. Visits to these cities for shopping or pleasure were the *summum bonum* of the aspirations of young men and maidens. Those who enjoyed this entrancing felicity were considered as greater travelers and were regarded with more envy than those who now tell of scaling Alpine summits. When I was young I heard from the lips of those who were belles of Warren nearly a hundred years ago stories of the gayety of the balls and the splendor of the theatres and the gorgeousness of the dresses of the Virginia cities. What a grand state we would have if James river were our northern boundary! Most of these emigrants from Virginia became true North Carolinians. Occasionally would be heard arrogant boasting of Virginia superiority, as from the old man mentioned to me by my mother, who answered all who disputed with him, "Weren't I born in James river, and oughtn't I to know?"

We do not know the exact date of Sumner's settlement in Bute. It was certainly prior to 1769. It is a lovely country. A traveler, Captain Smyth of the British army, said of it, "There is an extreme valuable body of rich high land that extends five miles around Bute Court-House; this whole tract is strong and fertile in an uncommon degree. There is scarcely a pine tree to be found within that distance, although the surrounding woods on every side are much mixed with them." Captain Sumner was appointed sheriff, which was then a very dignified and responsible office. The appointment was by the governor of one out of three nominated by the justices of the county. I have a copy of his commission, signed by Governor John Martin at Hillsborough at August term, 1772. It is a proof of the high character and business habits of Sumner, that while there had been great uprisings of angry people in some of the counties almost adjoining Bute, and loud complaints of extortion and embezzlement in those and many others, there were no charges of such criminal conduct in Bute. There were no Bute militia in Tryon's army which marched against the regulators in 1771, from which I gather that while they themselves were not disposed to join the insurrection they knew too well the sufferings of their neighbors to be willing to crush them by armed violence.

Smyth says that Sumner was a "facetious" man, and was "of person lusty and rather handsome;" that is, he had a strong body and vigorous health, and a fine manly bearing. The cynical Englishman of a nation of grumblers chronicles that his dinner was excellent. All those colonial gentlemen understood the art of giving good dinners.

We can easily call to our mind the Jethro Sumner of that day, at the age of forty-two, his long hair combed back so as fully to expose his rubicund face, and tied in a cue behind; his countenance frank and open, looking one straight in the face with a clear, bright eye; his body inclining to portliness, as became the devourer of good cheer; vigorous from out-door exercise, on foot or on horse, in sport and on business; having the air of authority, as became the executive officer of a county in those monarchical days when official station inspired far more awe than at present; as became, too, a man who had learned the art of command in actual service in an army where officers and men were widely separated by social as well as army rank; as became, too, the owner of a great estate and many laborers. At the dinner-table, in the familiarity of social intercourse with a young military officer of wealth and good blood, he showed appreciation of a good joke, a quality which has not yet died out in North Carolina. It is a pleasant picture—these two, the Bute county sheriff and the Eng-



lish officer, exchanging their army anecdotes over their nuts and wine, or rather, I should say, over their hickory nuts and bumbo, in the beautiful month of November, 1774, both too polite to discuss the angry questions which will in three years array them in opposite armies at Germantown, thirsting for each other's blood, the host an American colonel, the guest a British captain. Notwithstanding Sumner's desire to be agreeable to his guest, Smyth notices that he was a man "of violent principles" in regard to the pending quarrel between the mother country and the colonies. Being a man of ardent temper he embraced the cause of the colonists with his whole soul. A few words as to the nature of this difference.

The last French and Indian war left Great Britain with a debt so enormous in the eyes of the financiers of that day that it seemed impossible to pay it, \$700,000,000. To an Englishman the claim that the colonies should help to pay these expenses incurred partly for their own benefit seemed most reasonable. It seemed equally clear to him that parliament should exercise the taxing power for the purpose of securing such payment. To Americans also the first proposition was not unreasonable, but to the second was determined and angry dissent. Planting themselves on their rights as inheritors of the principles of Magna Charta and other great bulwarks of liberty, and on their special rights granted by their charters, the colonists said, "The British parliament can tax the property of the people whom its members represent, but the parliament of each colony is the only body which can tax the property of its people." For over one hundred and fifty years they had possessed home rule in regard to the control of their liberties and their property, and this home rule they determined to retain in all its integrity, or die. Kings, lords, and commons, the legislature of Great Britain, could regulate the internal affairs of the British Isles. King, council, and assembly only had power to regulate the internal affairs of each colony. They had submitted to odious navigation laws passed by the imperial parliament because they affected their external relations, but they had never submitted and they vowed they never would submit to the acts of parliament not elected by themselves affecting their internal relations, for that would be slavery. They were Englishmen and as such loved the monarchy. The youthful King George was for a time popular. He and Charlotte of Mecklenburg had homely virtues and kindly hearts. Although our ancestors expunged from our maps the odious names of Tryon and Bute they allowed the names of Mecklenburg and Charlotte to remain. They loved to talk of "Farmer George." They believed that the hostile legislation was the work only of the lords and the commons, and hence they constantly and in vehement



terms even in the early days of the war protested their loyalty to the crown and confidence in the people of England as distinguished from the politicians. They found to their cost that although in his private capacity he was a man of benevolence, as sovereign the king's views of the royal prerogative made him the most lasting enemy of their independence, and after blood began to flow the people seemed to sustain the parliament.

No part of the state was more unanimous in resistance to English aggressiveness than the county of which Sumner was sheriff. "There were no Tories in Bute," was the proud boast. And few families contributed as much to the common cause as the descendants of William Sumner. One of his grandsons, Luke Sumner, repeatedly represented his county, Chowan, in the state congresses before and the state senate during the war, and was the highly trusted chairman of the committee of safety from Chowan, member of the eminent committee which reported the constitution of 1776, and many other important committees, such as those for the purchase and manufacture of arms. David Sumner was a member of the state congress of August, 1775, and of the committee of safety of Halifax and lieutenant-colonel of militia. James Sumner was lieutenant in a company of light horse. Robert Sumner was member from Hertford of the convention of 1776 which formed the state constitution, and of the state senate afterward, while Elizabeth Sumner's husband, Elisha Battle, was representative from Edgecombe in the state congress of 1775, 1776, and the state senate under the Constitution.

But the most eminent of all the family was Jethro Sumner, whose "violent principles" were noticed by Smyth. As sheriff it was his duty to hold the elections, and he could not himself be elected to the convention of 1774 and of March, 1775, but after the flight of Governor Martin to the royal ship *Cruiser* we find him member of the Hillsboro congress of August, 1775. This notable provincial congress, still holding to the constitutional notion that the king could do no wrong and that consequently all acts in his name were the acts of parliament or of ministers, all signed a test drawn up by the committee of which Hooper was chairman. No man could be a member without avowing in writing his determination to resist to the utmost extremity all attempts by parliament to impose taxes upon the colonies or to interfere with their local concerns, and pledging himself under the sanction of virtue, honor, and the sacred law of liberty to support all acts of the continental and provincial congresses, because they were freely represented in them. This test was afterward to be signed generally by every organized body in the province. The congress proceeded with firmness and wisdom to inaugurate a provisional govern-

ment and prepare for war. The militia was organized, a special force of five hundred minute-men for each of six judicial districts was ordered to be raised, besides two regiments of five hundred each for the continental army. Bounties were offered for the manufacture of articles most needed.

Captain Sumner was chosen major of the minute-men of the Halifax district. They were in effect volunteer militia, with privilege of electing their company commissioned officers. The officers were to outrank militia officers of the same grade. Some of these minute-men did excellent work in the prevention of the rising of tories and sometimes in actual fighting. Major Sumner at once showed the superiority natural to one who had learned the art of war under Washington. Within a few weeks after the adjournment of congress the following order was issued :

"In Committee of Safety,

*November 28, 1775, Halifax.*

Ordered that Major Jethro Sumner raise what minute-men and volunteers he can, and follow Colonel Long with the utmost dispatch. By order.

[A copy.]

ORON. DAVIS, *Clerk.*"

Colonel Long was doubtless Nicholas Long of Halifax, colonel of Sumner's battalion. Three companies had been apportioned to Halifax and two to Bute. Lord Dunmore, the execrated governor of Virginia, was ravaging the coast of the Chesapeake and threatening Norfolk. On the 9th December, eleven days after the order of the committee of safety, the minute-men of Virginia defeated Fordyce's grenadiers in the action at Great Bridge. Colonel Howe, afterward General Howe, hurried forward the second regiment of continentals and took command of them and of the North Carolina minute-men. He arrived two days after the victory of the Great Bridge, but he and his troops so gallantly defended Norfolk that the baffled Dunmore on the first day of January, 1776, burned the town and sailed away. Howe was emphatic in his praises of the troops under his command, and the legislature of Virginia thanked him and his men for their efficient services, while the provincial council of North Carolina resolved "that he was justly entitled to the most honorable testimony of the approbation of the council for his important services," and thanked him and all the brave officers and soldiers under his command for their splendid conduct, having acquitted themselves greatly to their honor and the good of the country.

The slender hope of accommodating the differences of the two countries grew rapidly less. Blood was shed on North Carolina soil. The British authorities, with the co-operation of Governor Martin, formed a scheme

to bring upon the province the horrors of a civil strife with the tories, of insurrection of the slaves, and Indian massacres on the western frontiers. They were all checked by the defeat of the tories at Moore's creek bridge and by the crushing of the Cherokees by Rutherford. The congress of 4th April, 1776, at Halifax, looked the great issue boldly in the face, discarded the hope of friendship from the English king or English people, and, the first of all the colonies, authorized its delegates in the continental congress to vote for independence. The militia was ordered to consist of all between sixteen and sixty years of age. A brigadier-general for each district was elected. Four additional regiments were voted for the American continental army. The name of provincial council for the supreme executive power was found to be inappropriate, as the word "provincial" implied a recognition of dependence on Great Britain. The name "council of safety" was substituted. Large executive and judicial powers were given, care being taken, however, that they should not be despotic. Three vessels of war were ordered to be built and officers appointed for them.

So highly appreciated was the conduct of Major Sumner that at the next meeting in April of the provincial congress he was promoted to the colonelcy of the third regiment of the continental troops. A letter from Colonel Jethro Sumner to Lieutenant-Colonel William Alston, printed in the tenth volume of our colonial records, shows, I think, that Sumner and his regiment were at the defense of Charleston. A few days after this victory, in July, 1776, General Lee undertook an ill-advised expedition to attack St. Augustine in Florida, taking with him, says Moultrie who was second in command, the Virginia and North Carolina troops. At Savannah, after losing many from sickness, he halted until he was ordered north by congress. Moultrie refused to continue the movement unless properly furnished with material and supplies, which Lee had totally neglected and which were never furnished. The letter from Sumner to Alston, dated September 3, shows that his regiment was with this ill-starred expedition and of course was with Lee at Charleston. The letter places Sumner in the most favorable light. He states that General Lee had given him leave to return to North Carolina for the purpose of providing necessaries for the troops in view of the coming winter. He urges Lieutenant-Colonel Alston to be particularly careful of the discipline and to keep a good understanding among the officers and soldiers. He wishes them informed of the cause of his leaving, that it was for their benefit. He says, "You are at all times to keep up a strict discipline, but to reserve a mode of clemency as among young troops; now and then to throw something of a promising hope among them of a quick return to North

Carolina, which I doubt not but sometime hence will be the case. It will engage the mind and for a time dispense with inconveniences. Be careful in seeing no fraud is done them by the commissaries, and their pay regularly to a month delivered by their captains."

At the same time that Colonel Sumner went to North Carolina, Lee was ordered north to join Washington. At the urgent request of the authorities of Georgia and South Carolina the North Carolina troops remained for the defense of those states during the fall and winter following the declaration of independence. During this time Washington's army by the expiration of enlistments and the casualties of the retreat across New Jersey, with frequent skirmishes, including the brilliant victories of Princeton and Trenton, had been reduced to seven thousand men. It became probable that the next struggle would be for the possession of Philadelphia. The North Carolina troops were on the 15th of March, 1777, ordered to join his army. The route was by Wilmington, Halifax, and Richmond. The story of their brilliant victory over the British fleet had preceded them. Their progress through Virginia was an ovation. They could, says the chronicle, hardly march two miles without being stopped by ladies and gentlemen who flocked to see them. At Georgetown those who had not suffered from smallpox were inoculated with such success that not a man was lost. They reached Washington's camp at Middlebrook about the last of June. They were placed under the command of General Alexander, Lord Stirling.

They had only a short rest. In a few days after finishing their long march General Howe, the British commander, embarked eighteen thousand men on transports, and landing at Elkton marched toward Philadelphia. Although Washington had only eleven thousand men, part of them raw militia, he concluded that it would demoralize the country to give up Philadelphia without risking a battle. He met the enemy on the 11th of September at Brandywine. Stirling's division, including General Nash's brigade, was under the command of Sullivan. They showed praiseworthy courage. The flight of Sullivan's own division exposed the flank of Stirling and of Stephen. As Bancroft says, "These two divisions, only half as numerous as their assailants, in spite of the unofficer-like behavior of Stephen, fought in good earnest, using their artillery from a distance, their muskets only while within forty paces." They were forced to yield to superior numbers. Sullivan redeemed his want of generalship by personal bravery, and La Fayette fought by their side as a volunteer and was shot through the leg.

Within five days Washington was ready for another fight, but the

conflict was prevented by a furious rain-storm which damaged the powder of both armies. On the 4th of October he formed an excellent plan for attacking the enemy at Germantown. The brigades of Maxwell and Nash under Stirling formed the reserve in the most difficult attack—that on the British left. This attack was successful, and if it had been properly supported by other parts of the army would have won the victory. North Carolina lost some of her ablest men—General Francis Nash, Colonel Henry Irvin, Jacob Turner a captain in Sumner's regiment, and soon afterward the noble-hearted Colonel Edward Buncombe who was wounded and fell into the hands of the enemy died at Philadelphia. Although the attack at Germantown failed, the spirit shown, the admirable plan, the speedy recovery from the disaster at Brandywine, proved to the world that such troops, with a leader so constant and wise and energetic, could not be conquered. It convinced the court of France that an alliance with the struggling colonies would be safe and tend to cripple her hereditary enemy.

The North Carolina brigade went through with fortitude the heart-rending sufferings at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-'78. When the news of the alliance of the United States and France and the sailing of the French fleet to America induced the British commander to retreat to New York, giving up Philadelphia, they as usual did faithful service at Monmouth on the 20th of June—a victory which would have been most signal for the Americans but for the misconduct of the traitor General Charles Lee. They were posted on the left of the army and prevented the turning of that flank by Cornwallis. In May, 1778, on account of the diminished numbers, the North Carolina battalions, as they were called after joining Washington's army, were consolidated. The sixth was put into the first under Colonel Thomas Clark, the fourth into the second under Colonel John Patton, and the fifth into the third under Colonel Jethro Sumner.

After the battle of Monmouth there was little fighting by Washington's army until the Yorktown campaign. It lay near Morristown in New Jersey, and to the north of that point, watching the army of Clinton in New York. Sumner was promoted for his faithful services to a brigadier-general, January 9, 1779. The North Carolina regulars, dwindled to only seven hundred men, were ordered to the south for defense of Georgia and South Carolina. General Howe had been disastrously defeated near Savannah, and congress had superseded him with General Lincoln. General Sumner and his brigade had the post of honor in the attack on the intrenchments of the enemy at Stone Ferry, June 20, 1779. The troops were ordered to trust to the bayonet only, but meeting with a heavy fire they



could not be restrained from returning it. They behaved with great spirit, but as Moultrie, who had been charged with this duty, was unable for the want of boats to prevent the arrival of reinforcements to the British, Lincoln withdrew his men with small loss and in good order. Soon after the battle active operations ceased, on account of the heated air laden with malaria. Sumner's strong constitution, which had resisted the fierce cold of a Pennsylvania winter, could not save him from the prevailing fever. He was forced to ask leave of absence, expecting a speedy recovery in the highlands of Warren. His request was granted early in July, and he was therefore not engaged in the disastrous failure to capture Savannah by the French and American forces, October 9, 1779. On account of his great personal influence in North Carolina he was soon commissioned to raise four new regiments of regulars, and so escaped being captured at Charleston in May, 1780.

Prior to the battle of Guilford, March 15, 1781, there seems to have been small success in recruiting. The rapid movements and apparently the overwhelming superiority of Cornwallis, the fears engendered by his possession of Hillsboro, and the great impetus given to the tory movement seemed to paralyze the people. Greene was forced to replenish his small army with militia. Seeing this state of things Sumner, with the full approval and at the request of Greene, offered his services as commander of a brigade of militia. Greene had faith in the saying of the ancients that an army of hares with a lion at the head is superior to an army of lions with a hare to command them. The able patriot Willie Jones, general of the Halifax brigade, was willing to surrender his place in favor of the tried veteran. But General Caswell refused the tender of service, and Jones being incapacitated by sickness, General Thomas Eaton, the next in command, insisted on leading the brigade to their disgraceful desertion at Guilford Court-House, after having, as Judge Schenck shows, performed their duty at the beginning of the fight. Once before had Sumner been treated with scant courtesy. When after his flight from Camden Gates left Caswell at Charlotte to gather together the fragments of militia, he thought best to join Gates in Hillsboro and left Sumner in command. By some influence the latter was superseded by Smallwood, not a citizen and certainly not his superior in ability. He was in command, too, over a brigade of militia at Ramsey's Mills on Deep river, Caswell being present, on September 5, 1780. Why Caswell refused the services of so eminent and useful a soldier it is impossible now to ascertain. A charitable conjecture is that he thought the views of discipline held by a continental officer trained under the exacting discipline of Frederick the Great, Baron



Steuben, too severe for militia. His experience at Camden should have taught him sounder military views.

Denied the opportunity of leading the militia in the pending campaign, imitating his great commander Washington, who performed his public duty with serene indifference to misunderstanding and jealousy, in defiance of all difficulties and discouragements, Sumner energetically continued his efforts to raise his continental brigade. His correspondence with Colonel Nicholas Long, Major John Armstrong, Major Pinketham Eaton, Colonel Hal Dixon, and others shows clearly the number and weight of his difficulties, and his extraordinary efforts to overcome them. By letter and by personal visits he endeavored to spur up the recruiting officers to the enlistment of volunteers, the militia colonels to the enforcement of the drafts, the commissaries and quartermasters to the collecting of supplies. He urged La Fayette and Steuben to forward arms from Virginia. In some directions his success was flattering; in others the work was impeded by the fear of tories, by the disloyalty or inertness of the drafting officers, by the poverty of sections which had been harrowed by the enemy or by domestic marauders. Rank tories often enlisted, drew their bounties, and the same night deserted. He wrote strong and moving appeals to encourage volunteering or to reconcile the people to drafting—with no grace of style, but with the eloquence of earnestness.

His efforts were only in part successful. Colonel John Armstrong in a letter to Sumner gives graphic account of the trials. He says: "The General (Greene) seems very uneasy about the delay of the draft of the Salisbury district and of the desertions that frequently happen by reason of the forced number of tories into the service, and as soon as they receive the bounty they desert. I have received nigh three hundred men and will not have above two hundred in the field. I did everything in my power to bring out the drafts of this district, but all to no purpose. There is one-half at home yet, and remain without molestation. As for clothing there was little or none sent fit for a negro to wear, except from Rowan. I am sorry that I ever had anything to do with such slothful officers and neglected soldiers. There is a number of them now almost naked, and when cold weather sets in they must be discharged, for no officer would pretend to put them on duty. The neglect we have labored under heretofore, together with the present, make the service very disagreeable to every officer in camp. We are without money, clothing, or any kind of nourishment for our sick, not one gill of rum, sugar or coffee, no tents or camp kettles or canteens, no doctor, no medicine; under these circumstances we must become very inefficient. I am afraid that in a short time

you will have but few officers in the field, by reason of the shameful neglect of the state. We seem rather a burden than a benefit to them; we are tossed to and fro like a ship in a storm."

At one time Sumner had orders to join Baron Steuben in Virginia. Armstrong says: "I wish it had been my lot to have gone with you to Virginia where we would have been under your immediate care. . . . I am fully satisfied that you are not acquainted with our circumstances here, or otherwise it would have been removed."

What Armstrong says, that if Sumner had known of the sad condition of the soldiers a remedy would have been found, is confirmation of what I have already mentioned of his tender care of troops. Although the required number had not been raised, yet Sumner was able on the 14th of July, 1781, to march from Salisbury for Greene's camp in South Carolina, to take command of a thin brigade of one thousand men, distributed into three battalions commanded by Colonels John Baptista Ashe, John Armstrong, and Reading Blount. In the pleasant hills of the Santee the raw soldiers, many of whom were conscripted because of their desertion from their militia duties, were taught the drilling and discipline of soldiers. The enemy, under Stewart, was near the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree, each army in sight of the watch-fires of the other. Two large rivers ran between, effectually preventing surprises, and the operations were confined to cutting off convoys and foraging parties, in which the infantry was not employed.

Greene was the first to move. On the 22d of August he marched up the Santee, and Stewart, divining his intention to cross, fell back forty miles nearer his supplies at Eutaw Springs, where the battle occurred. In this stubborn conflict, in which both sides displayed the lofty qualities for which the Anglo-Saxon race is distinguished, Sumner and his brigade, although the soldiers were new levies with only three months' training and most of them had never before been in battle, made such a brilliant charge as to win from General Greene the strong commendation, "I was at a loss which most to admire, the gallantry of the officers or the good conduct of the men." And again, "The North Carolina brigade under Sumner were ordered to support them, and though not above three months' men behaved nobly." Governor Martin wrote: "I congratulate you on the honor you have gained at the head of the North Carolina army at the Eutaw." And such was the general verdict. Captain Smyth, the British officer heretofore mentioned, speaks of Sumner's having "distinguished himself in the course of the late war, being the General Sumner of the American army who has been so active in the Carolinas."

Although the glory of the conceded victory was denied the Americans, the British forces hurried off to Charleston, and Greene, weakened by the expiration of the term of service of so many of his men, retired to his old camp among the hills of the Santee, soon to rejoice over the glorious news from Yorktown. Here he waited for recruits and watched the enemy. As soon as the camp was reached Sumner at Greene's request returned to North Carolina for a second time on the thankless business of raising new forces and urging the supplying of his brigade with food and clothing.

It is impossible at this late day to trace with any minuteness the actions of General Sumner during the last eighteen months of the war. As no great movements of the armies were inaugurated it is probable that he remained in North Carolina prosecuting his duty of raising troops. In this his efforts, as were similar efforts in other states, had little success. The ravages of disease in the low lands of South Carolina where the operations were carried on had been so great that each recruit as he turned his back on North Carolina felt that he was marching to suffering and death. Drafting was the only remedy, and this became so odious that only one-third of those liable in North Carolina were procured, while in Virginia and South Carolina the authorities refused to adopt this method of replenishing their armies. The country seemed exhausted, and the long prayed for peace came none too soon.

On the 23d of April, 1783, furloughs were granted to the North Carolina soldiers, and they returned gladly to their homes. In some few places they were received with festivities and rejoicings, but most of them settled quietly to the pursuits of peace. It should be remembered that no North Carolina soldiers were guilty of mutinous attempts to obtain their rights by force, as were those of various other states, and that a North Carolinian (Howe) was called by Washington to protect the national legislature from the threats of violence of mobs. Our officers and privates were content to rely on the sense of justice of their state government, and history shows that all was done that could be done by a ruined people. Large grants of the fertile lands of Tennessee were made them, including twenty-five thousand acres to General Greene, while General Sumner's share was twelve thousand acres. A commission was appointed to settle and pay the just dues, which the continental congress had failed to discharge.

General Sumner returned to his home in Bute, where in the midst of admiring friends, enjoying the satisfaction of a well-earned reputation, he spent the residue of his days in the management of his estate, the care of his slaves and his blooded horses, the training of his children, and the exercise of a generous hospitality. His wife probably died during the

war, as she seems to have been living in 1781 and was not living in 1785. Only once was he induced to leave his privacy. In 1784 was formed the society of the Cincinnati, composed of officers of the continental army. Its name was taken from the personification of Washington called like Cincinnatus of old from his farm to the salvation of his country. It was designed to perpetuate the feelings of patriotism and brotherly affection engendered by the long struggle together for independence, and provide for the indigent in their ranks. Washington was its president-general. General Sumner was president of the North Carolina division and presided over a meeting of the delegates at Hillsboro on April 13. But the hostility to the society, which was thought to be an entering wedge for the introduction of an aristocracy into our country, coupled with the difficulty of communication in this large but thinly settled state, gave it short life in North Carolina.

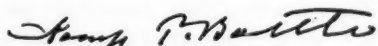
Before closing I must give you some details throwing light upon General Sumner as a citizen.

We have the inventory of his effects returned by his executors. Including the bounty lands in Tennessee he left over twenty thousand acres of land, besides town lots in Halifax, Louisburg, and Smithfield, in Virginia. He owned two valuable farms in Warren county, one called his "manor plantation" and the other his "Bute Court House plantation." On them were thirty-five slaves, nearly all able to work; and seventeen horses, some of them racers; and about two hundred and forty hogs, twenty sheep, and eighty-six head of other cattle. The possession of this large amount of stock, together with one hundred and fifty barrels of old corn and a quantity of bacon and beef and "six hogsheads of prized tobacco and about two to prize," as late as the 15th of March, after the winter was passed, is a pretty good showing for his management. The mention of a "quantity of quart bottles, some rum, brandy, cyder and wine," five large china bowls and four small ditto, shows that he kept up the convivial habits which distinguished Warren society for so many years, while the "one chamber chair" suggests that the war-worn veteran, after leaving his active army life, may have contracted by too generous living that affliction formerly called the aristocratic disease, the gout, exceedingly common in that day. There is an enumeration of large quantities of earthenware and china, silver and ivory-handled knives and forks, "two square tables, two round tables and two tea ditto," which shows that he was accustomed to exercise bountiful hospitality. As mementos of his army experience we find £2,374 9s. 6d. of army certificates, his silver-handled sword bequeathed to his eldest son, his fire-arms bequeathed to

his second son, and "his camp-beds, bedsteads and furniture" which he gave to his daughter. The silver salver, silver spoons "large and small," silver-handled and ivory-handled knives, chinaware and other furniture, gold watch and silver watch, show that he lived in good style, while his division of his "printed books" between his two sons, in that day when books were quite rare, indicates that he had some taste for literature.

The end was much nearer than the age of fifty-two years would seem to make probable. The exposures of war from the bitter cold of Valley Forge to the fever swamps of South Carolina, whence deadly miasma rises almost like a visible mist, undermined his strong constitution. General Sumner's will is dated March 15, 1785, and he died three days thereafter.

General Sumner had a generous nature, a strong head, and sound common sense. General Greene and Governor Nash and scores of military leaders, in the dark hours of a desolated state, of civil strife, of ruined currency, of despondency and of terror, asked the aid of his sagacity and pluck, and asked not in vain. He had a long experience in actual military service in the field through most of the French war, and from the burning of Norfolk, January 1, 1776, until the close in 1783, in fierce battles, in laborious marches, in dreary encampments, in thankless recruiting service, from a lieutenant to a brigadier-general's place. Although not brilliant, he was always faithful and reliable, performing his full duty without faltering and without a murmur. In all his letters we find no carping at superiors, no jealousy of equals, no despondency or cowardice of heart. He was a loyal, brave, true, gallant soldier. He had no art to push himself or publish his exploits. He kept no predecessor of the modern newspaper correspondent in his tent in order to puff him into notoriety. He did his whole duty and made no boast.



UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.



## THE COLONIAL MEETING-HOUSE

### THANKSGIVING DAYS AND CHRISTMAS FESTIVALS

There are at the present time few, if any, perfect specimens of the old colonial meeting-house extant. We read descriptions of them from time to time, but individuals whose memories date backward far enough to tell the story of having seen them with their own eyes are not numerous, and those left among us are rapidly passing away. A certain style of architecture characterized these structures in New England, as if one town after another borrowed the pattern of its neighbor. And in selecting sites the new settlers invariably fixed upon high ground. In the central part of Massachusetts, for instance, in one little hilly township it is recorded that the inhabitants held a meeting in 1787, and appointed a committee "to measure and find the center of the town, and agree upon a place which they shall think most proper for erecting a meeting-house." They chose the highest point they could find, laid their foundations, and ten years later the building was finished and dedicated. A belfry with a steeple was built in 1800, a bell being procured at the same time. When this meeting-house was about to be raised it was "voted that the owners of pews provide rum to raise said building." Above the high pulpit was hung a queer old-fashioned sounding-board, considered indispensable in those days. There were forty-four square pews in the body of the meeting-house, and nineteen in the gallery, ranged against the walls. The gallery was on three sides, the singers' seats being in front of the gallery-pews. The seats in all the pews were hinged and movable, and were lifted to give more room when the occupants stood during the long prayer, and when the "Amen" was pronounced they went down with a bang and a clatter which would startle the present generation. In the earlier period oiled paper was used in the windows for glass—to admit the light. In Mr. Charles N. Dyer's *History of Plainfield* it is related that soon after the erection of the belfry some boys were playing about the new meeting-house, when one of them threw a stone so high that it struck the weather-vane and bent the tail-feathers of the spruce-looking rooster. The boys told their simple-minded comrade that he would certainly be put to death unless he climbed up and straightened out the bent feathers, and believing them he started on his perilous ascent. He pulled himself up by the lightning-rod as far as the bell, where he rested awhile, and then ascended

to the vane. After restoring the rooster's tail to its proper position he descended without meeting with any accident.

On many of the New England meeting-houses a codfish was used for a weather-vane. In winter these buildings were not warmed, and the good people must have suffered the greatest possible discomfort in their worship. It is said that the First Church of Boston in 1773 was the first New England congregation to have a stove for heating the meeting-house in the time of public worship. In an interesting little volume entitled *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, recently published, the author says: "The New England congregations piously froze during service-time well into this century. The Longmeadow church, early in the field, had a stove in 1810; the Salem people in 1815; and the Medford meeting-house in 1820. The church in Brimfield, in 1819, refused to pay for a stove, but ordered as some sacrifice to the desire for comfort, two extra doors placed on the gallery stairs to keep out draughts; but when in that town, a few years later, a subscription was made to buy a church stove, one old member refused to contribute, saying, 'good preaching kept him hot enough without stoves.'"

In Plainfield there was no way of heating the meeting-house until 1822, when two stoves were procured and placed near the pulpit, not however without considerable opposition. Many were the quarrels and discussions that arose in New England communities over the purchase and use of stoves. "It was alleged that they would be the means of starting destructive conflagrations; that they caused severe headaches in the church attendants; and worst of all, that the *heat warped the ladies' tortoise-shell back-combs.*"

The women made use of small foot-stoves—a sort of metal box which contained a basin that could be filled with hot coals at home, and replenished from the fire-place of some dwelling near the church. These did not disappear in country places much before the middle of the present century, as such churches were at best never more than half warmed with clumsy stoves in the early years of their advent for heating purposes within the sanctuary. Some amusing stories have been told in this connection. The following is from the new book above-mentioned. "The wife of an anti-stove deacon came to church with a look of perfect resignation on the Sabbath of the stove's introduction, and swept past the unwelcome intruder with averted head and into her pew. She sat there through the service, growing paler with the unaccustomed heat until the minister's words about 'heaping coals of fire,' brought too keen a sense of the overwhelming and unhealthful stove-heat to her mind, and she

fainted. She was carried out of church, and upon recovering said languidly that it *was the heat of the stove*. A most complete and sudden resuscitation was effected, however, when she was informed of the fact that no fire had yet been lighted in the new stove."

The same writer describes the church music of the olden time. "Of all the dismal accompaniments of public worship in the early days of New England, the music was the most hopelessly forlorn—not alone from the confused versifications of the Psalms which were used, but from the mournful monotony of the few known tunes and the horrible manner in which those tunes were sung. It was not much better in old England. In 1676 Master Mace wrote of the singing in English churches, 'Tis sad to hear what whining, toling, yelling or shreaking there is in our country congregations.' Judge Sewall writes often with much self-reproach of his failure in 'setting the tune,' and also records with pride when he 'set the psalm well.' Here is the pathetic record of one of his mistakes: 'He spake to me to set the tune. Intended Windsor and fell into High Dutch, and then essaying to set another went into a key much too high.'" It would be impossible to give in words any adequate idea of the opposition which attended the introduction of musical instruments into church worship. Many a good Puritan positively refused to listen to the *ungodly feedles*. Violins were thought to savor too much of dance-music. "One clergyman satirically announced, 'We will now sing and fiddle the forty-fifth psalm.' A venerable and hitherto decorous old deacon of Roxbury not only left the church when the bass-viol began its accompanying notes, but he stood for a long time outside the church-door stridently 'caterwauling' to the top of his lungs. When expostulated with for this unseemly and unchristianlike annoyance he explained that he was 'only mocking the banjo.' Cotton Mather declared that there was not a word in the New Testament that authorized such aids to devotion. The ministers preached often and long on the text from the prophecy of Amos, 'I will not hear the melody of thy viols,' while, Puritan fashion, they ignored the other half of the verse, 'take thou away from me the noise of thy songs.' The ministers from their overwhelming store of Biblical knowledge hurled text after text at the *fiddle players*."

These meeting-houses were always opened on Thanksgiving Day in New England, and no preaching during the year was more impressive than the thanksgiving sermon. The pastor seemed to infuse his own gratitude for blessings received and expected into the entire service. Everybody went to meeting on that historic holiday. We might, perhaps, except the hostess in households where many family visitors were

assembled, who was obliged to watch the cooking of the delicious thanksgiving dinner; but all men, women, and children were in the Christian habit of occupying seats in the New England meeting-house on this day big with the fate of many fowls, and of taking their guests to church with them. The deacons sat in a pew by themselves, in front of the pulpit, and children and other inconsequential persons were placed in the box-like pews with their backs to the minister. The thanksgiving festival was intended originally as a strictly religious celebration, but the wonderful New England thanksgiving dinners and the rollicking amusements that followed took away much of its serious aspect. It was suggested by the Hebrew feast of tabernacles, and was not unusual in Europe before the discovery of America. Such a day was observed in Leyden, Holland, October 3, 1575, the first anniversary of the deliverance of that city from siege. Occasional days of thanksgiving were appointed by the Dutch governor of New York as early as 1644, and in subsequent years.

In Massachusetts, thanksgiving days were appointed in 1621, in 1633, in 1634, and in many other years prior to 1680, about which time it became a state custom. The first appointment of a national thanksgiving day was by President Washington in 1789. The spirit of this festival, however, can never be to the children of other states and climes just what it is to the children of New England, with their memories and traditions of brick ovens and steaming puddings and pies, and the old meeting-house sermon for young and old.

In Virginia, Christmas was always the great festival of the people. Whatever the early settlers left behind them in the home land, they brought Christmas with them to this country. Being chiefly descended from members of the Church of England, their old customs and their old loves were dear to them. For ages Christmas had been celebrated with pomp and rejoicing in grand cathedrals; year by year the chimes of the great abbeys had greeted Christmas; rich and poor had come together for the Christmas day in a common brotherhood; gifts were given to the poor on that occasion, sheep and oxen were roasted whole in the courtyards of "manorial halls," carols welcomed the Christmas morning of joy, and whatever was connected with the birth of the Saviour seemed to emphasize the sentiment of a common humanity. As on thanksgivings in New England, the scattered members of the Virginia families assembled at the old home for Christmas; but in addition to the joyful meetings of relatives, and the mirth, the mischief, and the happiness, there came the interchange of Christmas gifts, which added immensely to the pleasures of the season. Sometimes the whole Christmas week was spent in hilarious

amusements, business and care being put entirely aside. John Smith's first Christmas in America was not a merry one, for he was a prisoner among the Indians.

As soon as churches were built in Virginia, they were festooned every year with evergreens in honor of the Christmas day. Cedar with blue berries, and pine with needles, or growing in oval bunches resembling the tail of a fox, were greatly used for decorations. The Christmas dinner was elaborate, and drinking toasts was one of the great ceremonies after the removal of the plum-pudding, and with the ladies and children still at the table. The "Christmas tree" is of comparatively recent date, and has become one of the features of the celebrations of the present century, not only with the children of Virginia but those of other parts of the country. Santa Claus was unknown in the colonial period. He came with the Christmas tree. The evergreens made the old country-house a fairy realm; then with the advent of the pet saint and his mysterious budget of toys, together with brilliant lights and pretty gifts to beautify the bewildering Christmas tree, the child's supreme enjoyment may be imagined. It was not often that mistletoe could be found in the Virginia woods, and when discovered the wonderful plant, with its waxlike branches of a tender green and its snow-white berries, grew on the topmost boughs of the loftiest oaks, where it was dangerous to attempt to reach it. Young men, however, inspired by the romance of the season, often secured bunches at the risk of their necks. These were very precious, of course, and were suspended about pictures with charming effect. In addition to the Christmas tree the Virginians have long had "crackers," with which they stun the ears of all, even after the Christmas dawn. The feature of gifts on Christmas Day to friends and relatives remains unchanged. In the country parishes these marks of affection are frequently taken to church, where there is always regular service. After service, of which the holy communion is invariably a part, the scene changes to the home and the Christmas dinner.

*Roy Singleton*



## A PEN PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

### FRAGMENTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF PRINCE DE BROGLIE

On disembarking I found the American army encamped at a place called Verplanck's Point. It was then composed of about six thousand men, who, for the first time during the war, were well armed, well clothed, well provisioned, and encamped under regular tents. A cursory glance along its front ranks filled me at once with pleasure, astonishment, and admiration. All the soldiers appeared good-looking, robust, and well chosen. The sentinels, well stationed, extremely attentive, and in sufficient number under arms, contrasted so favorably with the idea I had previously formed of these troops that I could not avoid many times repeating to myself that I now beheld this army which, to my mind but a short time since, had no other uniform than a plain cap inscribed with the word LIBERTY.

On an eminence near by I perceived a number of tents, which I readily concluded could be no other than the camp of General Washington. In spite of the impatience which I naturally entertained to see this celebrated man, as I knew of no one who could then present me to him I contented myself in approaching as near to his tent as possible, in order, should he come out, that I might get a sight of him. I continued my route, a distance of fourteen miles—that is, nearly five leagues—to where the French army was encamped.

I reached Crampon at a quarter past twelve, and found the officers at dinner. The day following I took my station as colonel, second in command; and as there was at present nothing to do, I very soon found myself as well informed and as far advanced as any of the warriors of York.

I pressed M. de Rochambeau, who received me kindly, to favor me with an introduction to Mr. Washington. This he promised to do, and the next day after my arrival he accompanied me to dine with this distinguished man. I handed to General Washington a letter from my father, and after shaking hands he was pleased to say to me a thousand things, both civil and flattering. Behold, now, his portrait, which I have drawn after what I have been able to see for myself, and have learned from conversations in regard to him.

The general is about forty-nine years of age. Tall, nobly made, and

well proportioned, his appearance is much more agreeable than his portraits represent him. Three years ago he was yet very handsome; and although those who have been constantly in his company during this period say that he seems to them to have grown quite old, it is nevertheless incontestable that he has yet all the freshness and activity of a young man.

His countenance is mild and open; his salutation grave, but polite; his pensive eye seems more attentive than sparkling; but his look is at once pleasant, noble, and full of confidence. In his private intercourse he maintains a polite and careful decorum with which everybody is satisfied, and a reserved dignity which offends no one. He is the enemy of ostentation and vainglory; in character always even, never having been known to show the least temper; modest even to humility, he seems not to estimate his worth; receives with good grace the homage paid to him, yet sooner avoids than seeks it. His society is entertaining and agreeable; he is always serious, never absent-minded; always plain; ever liberal and affable without familiarity; the respect he inspires never becomes irksome. As a general thing he talks but little, and usually speaks in a tone of voice quite low; but he is so attentive to what you may say to him that, persuaded you are fully understood, you are willing even to dispense with a reply. This kind of deportment, it is unnecessary to say, has under many circumstances proved highly advantageous to him, for no one has need to use more circumspection or to weigh his words with greater care.

To an unalterable tranquillity of mind he joins an exquisite judgment; and there is little reason to reproach him either with too much slowness in coming to his decisions, or with not acting with sufficient promptness when his mind is made up. His courage is calm and exalted; but in order to be able to appreciate fully the extent of his talents, and to accord to him the name of a great warrior, I think it would be necessary to have seen him at the head of a much greater army, with corresponding means, and facing an enemy not less superior. We may, at least, accord to him the title of an excellent patriot, a wise and virtuous man; and, indeed, one is tempted to yield to him all the qualities of a great warrior, even those which the circumstances have not been such as fully to develop. Never was man better fitted to conduct the Americans, and never has a commander-in-chief shown, in his course generally, more of order, wisdom, firmness, and justice.

Mr. Washington receives no pay in the shape of salary: this he has refused, as having no need of it; but his table is furnished at the public expense. Every day he has some thirty persons to dine with him, giving

a fine military entertainment, and he is very attentive to all the officers whom he admits to his table. This is the moment of the day when he is most cheerful.

At the dessert he partakes freely of nuts; and often when the conversation amuses him continues for two hours to eat of them, and in drinking healths, conformably to English and American custom—what they here call *toasting*. They always commence by drinking to the United States of America; then to the king of France; to the queen; to the success of the arms of the combined army; and then they sometimes give what they call sentiments, for example: "Here's to our success against our enemies and with the ladies! Here's to our good luck in war and in love!"

I have myself *toasted* many times with General Washington. On one occasion I proposed to him to drink to the health of the Marquis de Lafayette, whom he regards as his son. He accepted with a smile of benevolence, and had the politeness to propose in return the health of my father and mother.

With the officers of his army Mr. Washington appears to me to carry himself most perfectly. He treats them politely, but they are far from being familiar with him. On the contrary, in his presence they all manifest an air of respect, confidence and admiration.

General Gates, famous for having taken Burgoyne, and for his reverses at Camden, commands this year one of the wings of the American army; I have seen him at Mr. Washington's, with whom he has been at variance; and it so happened that I found myself there at their first interview after their quarrel, the details of which are too extended to be inserted here. This meeting excited the curiosity of both armies. On the part of both gentlemen it was conducted with the utmost propriety—Mr. Washington treating Mr. Gates with a politeness at once frank and devoid of stiffness, and the latter responding in that respectful manner proper in the presence of the commander-in-chief, but at the same time with a boldness, a noble tone, and with an air of moderation which have satisfied me that he was worthy of the success which he obtained at Saratoga, and that his misfortunes have rendered him only the more estimable, in view of the courage with which he has borne them. Such, I think, is the judgment of well informed people who are personally disinterested.

Washington would have done infinite honor to himself if (when after the affair at Camden congress left him to name the successor), in lieu of nominating Mr. Greene, he had demanded that Mr. Gates should be continued in the command of his army, and thus placed in the best possible situation to repair his misfortunes; but it is imperative upon great men

always to hold on, by some corner, to the weaknesses of humanity. He had been quite jealous of Gates' success at Saratoga, in which success the latter was a little too much inclined to pride himself; and certain flatterers, among whom one might, besides others, name Mr. Conway, had busied themselves in sowing the seeds of jealousy on both sides. Thus, Mr. Washington became in some sort the judge of his rival, suffered himself to be drawn into a little manœuvre of retaliation, which, it must be admitted, was authorized by the event itself; and he made a good choice in the person of Greene. In fine, if in this instance he acted the part not the most generous and noble, he certainly did nothing in the least censurable.

—From a French paper of 1843, translated by

*Horatio King*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

## TWO LINCOLNS

### A SONNET

Lincoln's a name of honor in our land,  
And happy he who bears it long and well.  
Who rang of Slavery and its wars the knell  
Forever foremost on her scroll must stand,  
In story single, and in glory grand—  
What tales so-ever after years may tell.

And yet another Lincoln name shall swell  
The trump of Fame, in Classic Learning's hand,  
He fifty years, save one, the Latin speech,  
As a great master taught, till Livy's fame,  
Lacking his rich and rare embellishment,  
I doubt in our new world its height could reach;  
Nor Brown's great college bear so broad a name—  
With Lincoln's life outside her portals spent.

*Wm. L. Richards*

CHICAGO, OCTOBER, 1891.

## THE CODE IN NORTH CAROLINA

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE DUELLO

The duello, in the modern acceptation of that word, was unknown to the ancients. Combats in war between two, or twos and threes, were common, but the "point of honor" was unheard of. Neither a blow nor an insult was considered among the Greeks as requiring this kind of "satisfaction." Themistocles could calmly face the menaced blow of Eurybiades and say: "Strike, but hear me." Under the Roman law a blow did not dishonor: "*Ictus fustium infamium non importat.*" The duello grew out of the personality of law among our Teutonic forefathers, and "is found," says Blackstone, "sanctioned in the Burgundian Code by the laws of Gundebald, A.D. 501." Under the influence of christianity it was consecrated into the judicial combat, which was the direct appeal to the judgment of God. As such, it practically ceased after 1386. The influence of chivalry had in the meantime modified it and given it the "point of honor"; and to this "the code" owes its long lease of life. Preachers denounced it, books were written against it, and rulers made laws to terminate the practice, but for many years in vain. Public opinion sustained it, and behind this bulwark it was safe. Until the civil war in the southern states a man was branded a coward who refused to defend "honor" on every occasion, even at the risk of murder. That struggle changed our sentiments. We there saw enough of physical courage; the moral nature of our people has revolted; we now applaud the moral instead of the physical man, and "the code" is a thing of the past.

The first law ever enacted by the state of North Carolina against the duel was made by the legislature of 1802, James Turner, governor, and reads as follows:

*"Be it enacted by the general assembly of the state of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same; that from and after the passing of this act, no person sending, accepting, or being the bearer of a challenge for the purpose of fighting a duel, though no death ensues, shall ever after be eligible to any office of trust, honour or profit in this state, any pardon or reprieve notwithstanding; and shall further be liable to be indicted, and on conviction before any of the courts in this state having cognizance thereof, shall forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding £100 [\$200] to the use of the state.*



II. *And be it further enacted*, that if any person fights a duel in consequence of a challenge sent or received, and either of the parties should be killed, then the survivor, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy; and all their aiders or abettors shall be considered accessories before the fact, and likewise suffer death without benefit of clergy."

This law was evidently a direct result of the murder of Governor Spaight in September before. The legislature met November 15, and this law, entitled: "An act to prevent the vile practice of Duelling within this state," stands as Chapter V. in their proceedings. Two men at least, had been killed in the state in private encounters before this time; their fate had excited little sympathy; but here was a man of ability and distinction, one who had filled in succession many of the highest offices of the state, cut down in the prime of his manhood and while at the zenith of his fame. The death of Spaight caused a profound sensation, and under the weight of public distress the law was enacted.

The code of 1837 reenacted the law of 1802 with a few verbal changes where it became section 3 of chapter 34. Under the code of 1855 the party was to "suffer death," chapter 34, section 3. In Battle's Revisal, 1873, chapter 32, section 8, the law is unchanged.

The present code, revised in 1881, is as follows: chapter 36, section 1400: "If any person shall send, accept or bear a challenge to fight a duel, though no death ensue, he, and all such as counsel, aid and abet him, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished accordingly, and moreover, be ineligible to any office of trust, honor or profit in the state, any pardon or reprieve notwithstanding. Section 1401: If any person fight a duel in consequence of a challenge sent or received, and either of the parties shall be killed, then the survivor, on conviction thereof, shall suffer death; and all their aiders or abettors shall be considered accessories before the fact."

The experience of Illinois with the duello was short and impressive. In 1820, William Bennett killed Alphonso Stewart in St. Clair county. He was tried and hanged. This ended dueling in the state of Illinois; but the penalty of death was never inflicted on a duelist in North Carolina. Public sentiment continued to uphold the practice and the law was powerless. Had the letter of the law been carried out, more than one useful life had been saved to the commonwealth, and the duello would have fallen into neglect and disuse. Even so late as 1885 the grand jury of Buncombe county, although sworn to support the laws of the state, deliberately ignored the fact that during the year one of their most prominent citizens

had sent a challenge to another citizen of the county; and when this had been declined, the same man sent a challenge to a second party in another county, which, too, was ignored and no indictment presented whatever! Such action is not characteristic of, nor supported by, the moral sentiments of the people of the state at this time, and should be denounced by all who respect the laws and those charged with their execution.

The first duel fought on the soil of North Carolina of which the writer has found any record, and, so far as he knows, the only one for which any punishment was inflicted, occurred at Brunswick, March 18, 1765. The principals were Alexander Simpson, master of the British sloop of war *Viper*, and Thomas Whitehurst, his lieutenant. The witnesses were James Brewster and James Mooringe, midshipmen of the *Viper*. Horse pistols were used in the affair, which originated from some dispute over a woman. Simpson seems to have been actuated by a brutal spirit of revenge. Not only did he break the thigh of his antagonist with his shot, but also broke his head with the butt of his pistol, and in this last performance cracking the butt and the pan of the pistol as well. Whitehurst died in about six days. Simpson was severely wounded behind the right shoulder, the ball coming out under his arm. He was imprisoned, but escaped, and it is thought fled to Virginia, as members of his wife's family kept a tavern in Norfolk and as he was too weak to undertake a long voyage. A reward of fifty pounds was offered for his capture. He returned of his own accord after his wounds were healed; was tried in October, 1765; was convicted of manslaughter and branded in open court on the ball of the left thumb with the letter M.\*

Two American generals—General Christopher Gadsden and General Robert Howe—fought a duel August 30, 1778. They stood at eight paces. Gadsden received the fire of his opponent, and after a short interval fired his own pistol over his left arm and called on General Howe to fire again. The latter smiled and declined, and thus the honor of these two generals was vindicated! From a memoir of General Gadsden, by F. A. Porcher, president of the South Carolina Historical Society, we learn that this duel did not arise from Gadsden's strictures on Howe's unfortunate Florida campaign, as Wheeler says in his *Reminiscences of North Carolina*, but from a dispute concerning the chief command in South Carolina. When Lee reached Charleston in June, 1776, the general direction of military affairs

\* This duel had nothing whatever to do with the riot coming from the Stamp Act excitement in February, 1766, nor with the suicide of Chief-Justice Berry which followed soon after, as the historians have said. (Cf. Governor Tryon's letters on the subject in the Colonial Records of North Carolina, vol. VII.; also A. M. Waddell's "A Colonial Officer and his Times.")

was committed to him, but the executive relinquished none of his rights as commander-in-chief. Lee on his return north left Moore in command. Moore was succeeded by Nash; Nash by Howe, who promoted Gadsden a brigadier-general on October 29, 1776. After Howe had been in command for six months Gadsden desired to know by what right he commanded and claimed that he was himself the natural commander in South Carolina. Howe explained his right and showed the error into which Gadsden had fallen respecting conflicting claims, and at the request of the latter agreed to refer the matter to congress. At a subsequent interview he was led to believe that Gadsden was satisfied and did not send the matter to congress. Gadsden, finding the promised letter had not been written to congress, had the matter brought before the assembly of South Carolina, and a motion was made in that body by William Henry Drayton, the special friend of Gadsden, to inquire into the nature of Howe's command in that state. The motion was rejected and Gadsden resigned his commission August 23, 1777. Howe then laid the matter before his superiors. This letter was sent by Drayton to Gadsden, who wrote a long expostulatory letter to Howe and demanded satisfaction; the latter felt aggrieved at Howe and he sent a challenge. His second was Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; Gadsden's was Bernard Elliott.

A duel was fought on the battle-field of Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781. It served at the same time to further the respective causes of the combatants. John Smith, a captain of Maryland troops, had had a difference with a Colonel Stuart of the British army. The two officers "mutually declared that their next meeting should end in blood." They singled each other out in this battle, and, panting with thirst for revenge, engaged furiously with swords. Smith "drove the edge of his heavy sabre through the head" of the British colonel, "cleaving him to the very spine."

Another duel was fought on July 11, 1787, in the rear of the Episcopal church, in Wilmington, between Samuel Swann and John Bradley. Swann was a man of wealth and belonged to the same family as that Samuel Swann who, in 1728, along with Colonel William Byrd and others, surveyed the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia. Amiability and a high sense of honor were his marked characteristics. About this time a British officer who had suffered shipwreck was brought into the port of Wilmington in a destitute condition. Swann, moved by pity and attracted by the stranger's intelligence, took him into his home. The officer was one day in the store of John Bradley, and while there some rings disappeared from the counter. Popular hatred of Englishmen was still rife.

The shopkeeper charged him with the theft. Swann became indignant. He challenged Bradley; he was the best shot in the district, and went to the field intending to inflict a flesh wound only. At the word he lodged a ball in the side of his opponent. Bradley fired in the act of falling, and his ball penetrated the brain of Swann, who fell dead on the field. Bradley was indicted for murder, but was admitted to bail by Judge Ashe, a kinsman of Swann, for the act was not regarded as murder by society. He was pardoned during the same year by the governor on the recommendation of the assembly, but when this pardon was pleaded at his trial in Wilmington, it was disallowed by the judge. He was finally pardoned by the assembly at its session in November, 1789. He had been a peaceable and well-disposed citizen, and had supported "a mother, brother, and several sisters in ease and comfort by his industry." \*

The seventh president of the United States, Andrew Jackson, was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, March 15, 1767, and was the hero of several duels. His first was with Colonel Waightstill Avery, August 12, 1788. It was fought about dusk on the day the challenge was sent, in a ravine near the court-house in Jonesboro, Tennessee. General John Adair was Avery's second; shots were exchanged, but neither party was hurt; Jackson declared himself satisfied, and the men afterwards became warm friends. The duel grew out of a practical joke. Jackson felt that he had but slight chances for success in the case he was pleading against Colonel Avery, and determined on a little diversion. Colonel Avery rode the circuit of his courts on horseback; he carried a pair of capacious saddlebags, and there was always one thing in them, a copy of Bacon's *Abridgments*, a standard law book of that day. Jackson went to the saddlebags, removed the book and substituted a piece of bacon of the same size and shape. Colonel Avery had occasion to quote from his authority, the book was sent for, the package was opened, when behold, there was bacon indeed! Avery turned to Jackson, charged him with the act, and denounced him in most unmeasured terms. Jackson tore a fly-leaf from a law book and wrote upon it the following unique challenge:

August 12, 1788.

Sir: When a man's feeling and character are injured he ought to seek a speedy redress; you rec'd a few lines from me yesterday & undoubtedly you understand me. My character you have injured; and farther you have insulted me in the presence of a court and large audience. I

\* Cf. McRee's *Life of James Iredell*, 11, 165, 251, 256; and Martin's *Private Acts*, 229.

therefore call upon you as a gentleman to give satisfaction for the same ; and I further call upon you to give me an answer immediately without equivocation and I hope you can do without dinner until the business is done ; for it is consistent with the character of a gentleman when he injures a man to make a speedy reparation, therefore I hope you will not fail in meeting me this day from yr obt st

ANDW. JACKSON.

To Coll Avery

P. S. this Evening after court adjourned.

In 1803 Jackson challenged Governor John Sevier of Tennessee. This was accepted, but the affair ended in a common brawl. In 1817 Jackson sent a cartel to General Scott, who declined on the ground of religious scruples and patriotic duty. May 30, 1806, Jackson killed Charles Dickinson in a duel at Harrison's Mills in Logan county, Kentucky. Dickinson was a lawyer, a trader, and a patron of the turf. He was bright, enterprising, and popular, and reported to be the best pistol shot in Tennessee. He had for some reason conceived a dislike for General Jackson, and when drinking made remarks about him. The general knew this, but the difference in their ages (Dickinson was only twenty-five, while Jackson was thirty-nine) forbade him giving it any attention until the former spoke disparagingly of Mrs. Jackson. When informed of this the general called upon him and demanded an apology. He denied having said anything, said he must have been in his cups, and apologized. The matter was dropped. Afterward trouble arose about a horse race, in which one of Jackson's horses ran. A correspondence ensued, Jackson called Dickinson a coward and a poltroon, and a challenge was sent. Pistols were the weapons; the distance was twenty-four feet. At the word, given by General Overton, Dickinson fired instantly. A puff of dust flew from the breast of Jackson's coat, just where Dickinson boasted he would hit him. The muscles of his face contracted. He placed his left arm firmly across his breast, steadied himself, and took deliberate aim. Dickinson, astounded at his failure, stepped back from the peg, when Overton called to him to resume his position, which he did, presenting his side to his adversary and averting his eyes. Jackson pulled the trigger of his pistol ; it stopped at half cock. He coolly recocked it, carefully aimed and fired. Dickinson reeled and fell. The ball had struck him just above the right hip and passed through his body. When assured by his surgeons that the wound was mortal he insisted on another fire. "General Jackson must go with me," he said excitedly. He was carried to a neighboring house, where he



died at four the next morning in great agony. Jackson and his friends remounted their horses and rode to the tavern. When Jackson took off his clothes it was discovered that he was wounded, having two ribs broken. Though he lived to be seventy-eight years of age, Dickinson's bullet gave him considerable trouble, causing frequent hemorrhages of the lungs.

In 1817, Thomas H. Benton, then a citizen of Missouri, fought two duels on Bloody Island, near St. Louis, with a lawyer named Lucas. On the first occasion both were wounded, on the second Lucas was killed. The murder of Lucas always haunted him, and he carefully destroyed all accounts of it as far as was in his power. He was also engaged in several other "affairs of honor."

John Stanly fought a duel with Richard Dobbs Spaight, Sr., behind the masonic hall in New Bern on Sunday afternoon, September 5, 1802. At the second fire a bullet pierced the coat collar of Stanly; at the fourth, Spaight received a wound in the right side, of which he died in twenty-three hours. Edward Graham was the second of Stanly, and Dr. Edward Pasteur of Spaight. The origin of the duel was due to politics. Stanly, a Federalist, made some exceptions to the career of Spaight, who was a Republican. Spaight retorted by an abusive reference to his opponent in a printed handbill. This provoked the cartel. The challenge was sent, accepted, and the duel was fought on the same day. It was witnessed by three hundred persons. Under the common law of the state, Stanly had been guilty of murder, and criminal proceedings were instituted against him. He at once petitioned the legislature for pardon. This was refused, on the ground that the pardoning power had been vested in the governor. He addressed himself to Governor Benjamin Williams and received a full pardon. He was seconded in his efforts by many members of the legislature, among them Duncan Cameron, Calvin Jones, Durant Hatch, George Outlaw, and Robert Williams. Both in public and private life Stanly's course towards all opponents was marked by bitterness and violence. He seemed to take special delight in torturing Richard Dobbs Spaight, Jr., insulting and terrorizing him by looks, words, and gestures, when other means were not used. He was member of congress 1801-3, 1809-11, and very frequently a member of the state legislature. He was stricken with paralysis in 1826 while delivering a speech in the legislature, and never recovered. Debts and judgments began to press him, and to a personal and political friend he owed the house in which he spent his declining years. He died August 3, 1834. R. D. Spaight, Sr., was a grandson of Governor Dobbs; he was a member of the continental congress in 1784; in 1787 was a delegate to the federal convention; a delegate to the state

convention of 1788; governor 1792-95; member of congress 1798-1800. At the time of the duel he was forty-four years of age while Stanly was but twenty-eight.

In 1812, on the Virginia line, Thomas J. Stanly was killed at the first fire by Louis D. Henry. This duel arose from a dispute in regard to the question who was the partner of a certain lady in a dance at a party given by Judge Gaston. Others say that Stanly made a ball of a bit of bread and playfully shot it across the room at his friend. It fell in the coffee cup of a lady sitting by Henry, whom she forced to resent the accident as an insult offered her. A third account is that Stanly tossed a bit of cake across the table, it fell into a cup of tea and splashed the liquid on Henry's vest, a thoughtless remark by a lady aggravated the trifle. Henry was speaker of the house of commons in 1832, and a candidate for governor in 1842. He died in 1846. After the murder of his friend it is said he was never known to sleep in an unlighted room. Richard Stanly was killed in a duel fought with small swords on one of the West India islands prior to 1824. He was a brother of John and Thomas mentioned above, and came of a hot-headed, irritable, and fighting race. Edward Stanly of North Carolina fought Samuel W. Inge of Alabama at Bladensburg, Maryland, February 24, 1851. The trouble arose out of a debate on the river and harbor bill. Pistol shots were exchanged. Charles Lee Jones, who was Stanly's second, then advanced and expressed the desire that the affair be terminated. He stated that Stanly's remarks were made in answer to what he considered a gross personal insult. The second of Inge was Jefferson Davis, who said that these remarks were political and not personal. The dispute was dropped. This was the last duel in the United States arising from debates in congress. Stanly was a son of the John Stanly mentioned above, and was reared in New Bern. In 1842 he came near fighting a duel with Henry A. Wise of Virginia. In 1853 he removed to California, and after the fall of New Bern in 1862, was appointed by President Lincoln as "Military Governor of North Carolina." Inge was also a native of North Carolina, but removed to Alabama when young; he was a member of congress 1847-51, and was a second in the duel between William M. Gwin and J. W. McCorkle, fought in California, June 1, 1853.

Jarvis Clifton and Prentice Law fought at Crosses, on the line between Gates county, North Carolina, and Southampton county, Virginia, in 1806 or 1808. Law was a northern man by birth, while Clifton was a native of Bertie county. They fought over a Mrs. Blanchard. Law struck his antagonist, and in pulling the clothing from the wound the ball

came with it. Clifton afterwards married Mrs. Blanchard, but she died in a year.\*

At Bladensburg, Maryland, during the first part of February, 1846, Thomas F. Jones of Perquimans county killed Dr. Daniel Johnson of Edenton. This tragedy arose from the infidelity of Jones's wife. Jones was a near-sighted man and could not see his foe at the appointed distance. He practiced by holding his pistol perpendicularly downward, then raising it until level with a man's body and firing. He continued this until he could cut a tape. The duel was to have taken place at sunrise, but was delayed by getting the ramrod into one of the pistols. It was witnessed by three hundred people. Public sentiment at first was with Johnson. Jones was arrested but released on bail, Daniel M. Barringer and James C. Dobbin, North Carolina congressmen in Washington, being his bondsmen. He was tried in the Maryland superior court, but the sentiment of the bar forced the solicitor to enter a *nol pros*. Johnson denied the crime; he held his pistol above his head and expressed his determination not to fire; he was shot in the right temple, the ball lodging in his fur cap on the other side. His second was his brother-in-law, Dr. Henderson, and his surgeon was John Bell Gibson. The second of Jones was Nixon White and his surgeon Francis N. Mullen. Jones was a lawyer, a graduate of the state university, and a talented man. He became blind a few years later from the effects of a blow received in a game of bandy. He died about 1856.

In 1814, Lieutenant Samuel H. Bryant, United States army, was killed in a duel in North Carolina. In 1844, William E. Boudinot fought two duels with Montgomery Hunt, within a few days of each other. The first was on the Island of Java, where neither was hurt; the second at Singapore, where Hunt was wounded in the thigh at the second fire. They afterwards became warm friends. Hunt was a naval officer and was lost at sea. Boudinot was really the inventor of the present signal service system, and died near Pittsboro, North Carolina, in the spring of 1889.

About 1842, James Iredell Waddell, a cadet in the United States navy, fought Midshipman Waring of South Carolina, with pistols, near the naval hospital in Portsmouth, Virginia. The dispute was concerning a young lady. Waddell was wounded in the hip, which gave him a limp to the day of his death. He afterwards became famous as the commander of the confederate cruiser *Shenandoah*. He died in 1886.

Joseph Pearson fought John George Jackson, a member of congress

\* Wheeler, in his *Reminiscences*, page 135, mentions a duel connected with Bertie county, between Law and Blanchard; there is no doubt but the above is the correct version.

from Virginia, near Washington city, December 4, 1809. Pearson was severely wounded at the second fire. He was a lawyer by profession and a member of congress, 1809-15. Prior to 1823 Jesse A. Pearson fought a duel with Montford Stokes, who was wounded. Stokes was United States senator, 1815-23; governor, 1830; Indian agent in Arkansas, 1831-42.

The half-way house where the Dismal Swamp canal crosses the North Carolina line into Virginia has been the scene of two duels. The first took place on the Virginia line during the autumn of 1847, when H. F. Harris fell in a duel with Edward C. Yellowly. Harris was an impetuous, ill-disciplined, and passionate man. He was the Whig representative of Pitt county in the assembly of 1846. Yellowly, amiable, yet resolute, opposed his nomination, and Harris was elected by a bare majority of fifteen. Stung by the smallness of his vote, he said to Yellowly: "You scoundrel, you are the cause of this. If you had not opposed my nomination, I should have had the usual majority." Yellowly answered: "I opposed your nomination as I had a right to do, but I supported you at the ballot-box." Harris struck him; they clinched, but were separated. Harris retired, armed himself with a double-barreled gun, pursued Yellowly and swore he would shoot him as soon as they met. Both parties were bound over to keep the peace for twelve months. Harris practiced every day and often by moonlight until he became a skillful marksman. When the year had expired the parties met and Harris fell, meeting apparently, as the men of the middle ages would have said, the direct judgment of God. The second was on June 12, 1868, when Robert W. Hughes of the *Richmond State Journal* fought William E. Cameron of the *Richmond Index* with pistols and wounded him in the breast at the first fire.

Maurice, the son of Judge Alfred Moore of the United States Supreme Court, fought with Benjamin Smith, afterwards governor of North Carolina, in 1800 or 1801, on the South Carolina line, with pistols, because of an alleged insult to Moore's father. Smith was badly wounded in the side. Smith was engaged in other duels. He donated twenty thousand acres of land to the State University in 1789. About the beginning of the present century Dr. William A. Berry took offense at some remarks made by General William Watts Jones and a challenge followed. They met in the southern end of the town of Wilmington. Shots were exchanged, neither was hurt, the matter was then amicably adjusted. Hon. Duncan Cameron fought William Duffy in Virginia about 1804. Cameron was wounded. The origin of this duel was as follows: A client of Judge William Norwood had lost a bond or negotiable note. To collect the value of the lost bond it was necessary to prove its contents.

The client could not testify in his own behalf. Mr. Cameron was put on the stand. He testified that he had once seen the bond lying on Norwood's table; he unthinkingly read it all over before becoming aware of his action. He had a very powerful memory and reproduced it in full for the court. Duffy appeared for the defendant, and in his cross-examination reflected severely on Cameron in thus prying into the affairs of others. Cameron sent the cartel of course.

Hon. George C. Dromgoole killed Mr. Daniel Dugger about November, 1837, six miles from Gaston, North Carolina. This duel arose from a supposed insult given by Dugger in the presence of ladies. The parties stood four paces apart, and Dugger received the ball in his side, about three inches below the arm-pit, and lived until the next morning. He was a native of Brunswick county, Virginia. Dromgoole was a son of Edward Dromgoole, a Methodist pioneer in Virginia and North Carolina. He was a student in the University of North Carolina in 1814. After this unfortunate affair he supported the widow of Mr. Dugger and educated his two sons, the late Macon T. Dugger and the late Captain John E. Dugger of Warrenton, both of whom graduated at the University of North Carolina. Dromgoole became speaker of the Virginia senate and was a member of congress from that state, 1835-41, 1843-47. He died in 1847.

Politics was perhaps the most fruitful source of duels. In the fall of 1827 Dr. Robert Brank Vance fought Samuel Price Carson at Saluda Gap, on the South Carolina line, with pistols. Vance was wounded at the first fire, and died in a few hours. It was in the campaign of 1827, when the two were rivals, that the morbid tendency of Vance caused him to provoke a challenge by an insult to his opponent's father. Carson, who was an excellent shot, did not intend to slay his opponent, but was compelled to do so by his second, Hon. Warren R. Davis of South Carolina. Vance was an uncle of Senator Z. B. Vance, and was a member of congress, 1823-25. While preparations were being made on the field he handed his watch to his second with the bequest that it be given to Hon. David L. Swain in case of his death. This bequest was recognized by the law and was allowed to stand, the case being a *donatio causa mortis*. Carson was the second of Hon. D. F. Caldwell in his proposed affair with Colonel Charles Fisher. This duel did not occur, as Caldwell was unable to use the broadsword.\* He was a member of congress, 1825-33; in 1835 he visited Texas and while absent was elected a member of the conven-

\* Wheeler, in his *Reminiscences of North Carolina*, page 90, says that Carson was also the second of John Branch in his affair with Governor Forsyth of Georgia. If this duel ever occurred I have been able to get no particulars, and it is improbable, for while secretary of the navy Branch



tion of 1835; he removed to Texas in 1836, and was elected a member of the convention that created the republic. He was made secretary of state and was afterwards minister to the United States. He died in 1840.

John K. Campbell was killed in a political duel in Florida in 1833. He was a native of South Carolina, an orphan-home boy, and of so much promise that he was liberally educated, graduating from Columbia College, South Carolina. At the time of his death he was United States attorney for Florida. His fate excited much sympathy in Charleston, where he was well known. In 1825 he was a resident of Raleigh, North Carolina. In June, 1836, Jesse A. Bynum of North Carolina fought at Bladensburg with Daniel Jenifer of Maryland, over a misunderstanding in the house of representatives. Six shots were fired but nobody was hurt. Hon. Francis W. Pickens of South Carolina, and Hon. Baillie Peyton of Tennessee, were the seconds of Jenifer, and Hon. Edward A. Hannegan of Indiana, and Hon. H. A. Savier of Arkansas, those of Bynum. Charles Lee Jones, a noted duelist in his day, says it is incomprehensible that gentlemen of the character of these seconds should have permitted so many shots to be exchanged in a case growing out of debate. A *British Code* published in 1824 lays down the rule that "three fires" should be the ultimatum in any case, as any further firing would reduce the duel to a conflict for blood or subject the parties to ridicule for incapacity in arms. Bynum was also an attendant of Hon. Jonathan Cilley of Maine, in his fatal duel with Hon. William J. Graves of Kentucky, fought at Bladensburg, February 24, 1838.

Hon. Thomas L. Clingman of North Carolina, met Hon. William L. Yancey of Alabama, in 1845, near Bladensburg; neither was hurt. The difficulty was adjusted after the first fire. Huger of South Carolina was the second of Yancey, and Charles Lee Jones of Washington city, was Clingman's second. Colonel Jones died in Washington city, November 8, 1889, aged nearly seventy. As a young man he was a leader in society, and an arbitrator in all questions of social life and the laws of the duel. He was a man of the old school and of great personal bravery. He was especially prominent in this duel and acted as a second in several others mentioned in this paper.

About 1850, Hon. John Baxter met Colonel Marcus Erwin and exchanged shots; Baxter was slightly wounded. He became United States district judge in Tennessee and died in March, 1886.

recommended that four navy officers implicated in a duel be stricken from the list. The President replied: "Let the above-named officers of the navy be stricken from the roll. Andrew Jackson, March 31, 1830."

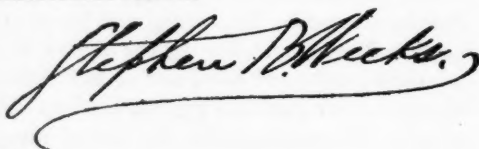
A curious illustration of the foolish character of the duel is furnished by an incident given by Watson in his *Annals of Philadelphia*. In 1778 or 1779, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, the president of congress, challenged John Penn, a signer from North Carolina. The two men were fellow-boarders, and had breakfasted together that morning. They were to fight in a vacant lot opposite the masonic hall, on Chestnut street. There was a deep slough at Fifth street, and in crossing Penn, who was much the younger man, offered his hand to Laurens. The act of courtesy was accepted, and Penn suggested that their meeting was a foolish affair. It was settled at once.

John Grange and Bernard Laspeyre fought with pistols early in the century in Brunswick county, near the South Carolina line. Laspeyre was wounded in the arm. John Grange and Major Love fought with pistols on Eagle's Island, opposite Wilmington, early in the century. Three shots exchanged; neither hurt. The parties ate persimmons off the same tree between fires. During the war of 1812 a man named Sykes fought a duel in Brunswick county with an officer of a revenue cutter. The affair was bloodless. Bela Williams Strong, a native of New York, and, it is said, the brother of a great jurist there, Judge Strong, became involved in a personal difficulty with a brother of Gabriel Holmes, who was governor of North Carolina, 1821-25, and was killed by him in a duel near Holmesville in Marion district, South Carolina, on May 27, 1815. Strong was a lawyer and resided in Fayetteville. He was twenty-nine years old, of endearing and amiable qualities, pleasing address, and polished manners. He married Miss Harriet Harrington, a daughter of General Harrington of the Pee Dee section, a noted Revolutionary patriot. Mrs. Mary Daniel of Robeson county, aged ninety-four, gives the following account of the duel of which she was almost a witness: "My father, Andrew Fulmer, a native of Germany, settled near the dueling ground in Robeson county. Mr. Strong was my father's lawyer, and came to his house with some friends and spoke of viewing some land across the line. He was a welcome visitor and my father tried to engage him in conversation about his law matters, but Mr. Strong remarked that he would talk over matters after he returned. Mr. Strong and his friends departed on the morning of the 27th May, 1815. During the day we were shocked to learn that a duel had been fought and our guest of the night previous was killed. He was brought to our gate in a gig and held up by one of his friends and a negro servant. He was seated in the foot of the gig with his feet hanging down outside. Against my earnest entreaty he was carried on this way towards Fayetteville." The bride who awaited his coming knew nothing of the

duel till he was brought in the gig to the gate of the Murley House. A monument in the old Cross Creek cemetery, erected "by the hand of conubial affection" marks his resting-place. His widow lived afterward on Carr's Mount at Wadesboro, and subsequently removed to Alabama where she died a few years ago. Her adopted daughter married Dr. John Williamson, a native of Cumberland county, now a citizen of Alabama.

Dr. Mitchell and Dock Long fought a savage duel seven miles from Salisbury about 1830. Edmund Burke Waddell fought Henry Hill on the South Carolina line with pistols about 1830. Waddell was wounded in the knee. W. J. Keith fought O. M. Dantzler in North Carolina in 1852 with pistols and was badly wounded. Wheeler in his *Reminiscences* mentions a duel fought between Satterthwaite and Kennedy, residents of Beaufort county.

The last sad duel fought by natives of North Carolina was fought between Joseph Flanner and Dr. William Crawford Wilkings in South Carolina, just across the line and not far from Wilmington, May 3, 1856. Wilkings was an officer of the young men's Democratic association of Wilmington, and made a speech at some local election at which Flanner took offense. He challenged and killed his opponent at the first fire. Wilkings at the time of his death was thirty years and nineteen days old. He was "gifted by nature and refined by cultivation, ardent and generous in his impulses, eloquent and fearless in the expression of his sentiments." The attending physician was Dr. J. F. McRee. The seconds of Wilkings were William Walker and Nash Waddell; of Flanner, John Cowan and O. P. Meares. There is a magnificent monument to the memory of Wilkings in Oakdale Cemetery, Wilmington. Flanner was an agent of the confederacy in Paris, during the war. At its close he went into the banking business, using the funds of the defunct government which still remained in his hands, and died in 1885, leaving an estate to heirs in North Carolina worth about \$300,000. This duel created perhaps a more profound feeling of regret than any other fought by natives of the state. There are two families in Wilmington who have no intercourse with each other even unto this day because of its unfortunate results.



## GENERAL GEORGE IZARD'S MILITARY CAREER

A REPLY TO MR. HENRY ADAMS

*Editor Magazine of American History:*

Will you kindly allow some of the valuable space in your pages for a few words about General George Izard, concerning whose military career I wrote an article for your magazine in June, 1888? In the volume of Mr. Henry Adams's history which refers to the campaign of 1814, when Izard was the senior major-general on the Canada frontier, conclusions are reached with regard to Izard that I think can be proved to be altogether unjust. As a soldier General Izard's career is interesting for two reasons. He was the first officer in the United States army who had been completely educated in the schools, having spent five years for that purpose in Europe, two of which were at the French government school for engineers at Metz; while the second reason is, that the struggle which he made for recognition as an officer who thoroughly understood his duties proved to be of no avail, so wedded were the military and public opinion of his day to methods that belonged to the past. He was not understood by his fellow officers on account of his education, and he was an absolute enigma to the would-be military critics of his time.

For the better understanding of what I have to say here the reader is referred to the article of June, 1888, where the military proceedings of 1814 are given with some detail. Perhaps the result of that article has been that Mr. Adams's attention was called to Izard's published correspondence, and he is therefore the first serious writer of American history who has quoted Izard without ridiculing him. The other two historians, Ingersoll and Armstrong, who were his contemporaries, are unsparing in their denunciation. Mr. Adams recognizes the advantage which Izard possessed of having been educated as a professional soldier, and has no fault to find with his patiently drilling and disciplining the raw recruits sent to him at Plattsburg from early in May, 1814, when he took command, to July and August, when he was ordered to Niagara, as well as his fortifying the post in the expectation of an early attack; nor does Mr. Adams pay any attention to the accusation that Izard was "only a martinet," which was the common remark of the subordinate officers at Plattsburg. He does not accuse Izard, moreover, of having purposely selected the

best men of the garrison for the long march of four hundred miles to Niagara in the hope that his successor in command would be thereby crippled in efforts to resist the impending attack. Mr. Adams evidently recognizes that for such a journey the best men were absolutely necessary. Otherwise the number of stragglers by the way would have much reduced his original effective strength. He also apparently does not believe in the possibility of Izard's accomplishing thirty miles a day with troops not yet inured to fatigue, and a wagon train partly drawn by oxen. He merely mentions the time consumed by the march without comment, and gives Izard no credit for having reached his destination without appreciable diminution of his numbers. Finally, among the favorable notices Mr. Adams speaks well of Izard as an honorable man, against whom no suspicion of double-dealing was ever bruited.

But at this point his commendations cease; and when Izard has crossed the Niagara river with the combined divisions of General Jacob Brown and his own, and confronts the British General Drummond intrenched behind the Chippewa river, Mr. Adams first incorrectly states the relative strength of the two armies, and without carefully considering the reasons given in Izard's dispatches to the secretary for not engaging the enemy finally concludes him to have been entirely unequal to the crucial test of his ability, namely, a battle, which he ought easily to have won by his overwhelming superiority in numbers to his antagonist.

Mr. Adams is right when he states Izard's strength at Chippewa to have been five thousand five hundred regulars and eight hundred militia, but he refers to no authority for estimating the British strength at two thousand five hundred. Izard estimates Drummond's strength in a dispatch to the secretary after recrossing the Niagara, dated Buffalo, November 2, 1814. He says: "When before Chippewa the impression left by General Brown's estimates and observation was that the remaining British regular force for the field before us was rather under than over four thousand men (including the garrisons of the forts below, perhaps five hundred men). It was also reported by our spies near the mouth of the strait that the fleet landed only a few hundred troops, but that the bulk of their cargoes consisted in provisions and stores. This was only in part true. It now seems from the deposition of deserters, corroborated by more recent observation, that the troops were one thousand six hundred in number, besides whom four hundred exchanged prisoners (of the forty-first regiment from Erie) had immediately been put upon duty, and the whole advanced to Chippewa." According to these figures the British strength was somewhat under six thousand regulars, and a mo-



ment's consideration of the subject would lead to the conclusion that, independently of all estimates, the British were not likely to have left General Drummond with only two thousand five hundred men, when they must have known that Izard had arrived with four thousand men, and the number of Wellington's veterans then in Canada to draw from was over thirty thousand.

In continuation of his remarks disparaging to Izard Mr. Adams says that he failed at Chippewa to seize the great opportunity of his life, and to crush the enemy with his superior numbers. This is a mistake. The great opportunity of Izard's life was at Plattsburg. He there had worked assiduously to place the land defenses in condition, and toward developing the efficiency of the garrison, and when ordered to Niagara the fruits of his labors were taken from him and reaped by others; whereas, at Chippewa, his conduct was controlled by higher reasons than the mere necessity of fighting. Mr. Adams's final conclusion as to Izard is, that after evacuating Canada his usefulness was practically ended, and he considers him as admitting this by recommending that General Brown be sent to Sackett's Harbor with his division, where between five thousand and six thousand militia had collected. These were unarmed, disorganized, and approaching a state of mutiny,\* and Izard knew that General Brown was more competent than himself to the task of organizing them. He had but little confidence in three-months militia, and was very willing that another should undertake to make them available, especially General Brown, who had already commanded such troops, and was popular among them. His inactivity at this moment, which Mr. Adams considers as proof that his usefulness had been entirely expended, will be explained as we proceed.

Shortly after the arrival of Izard at Plattsburg in May, 1814, where he found the so-called army which he was to command so deplorably weak in numbers and equipment, as described in his letter to Secretary Armstrong, he mentioned incidentally in a letter written the same month to a sister living in Philadelphia, that the best he could do would be to avoid disgrace, and that "anything above that was impossible in the present system." This is the key to his entire conduct during the campaign, for, although he felt more hopeful when his force had increased to seven thousand men, he knew they would answer only for the defensive. The offensive never seemed practicable to him as long as the enemy were so much stronger on the other side, and the only chance of meeting the British successfully was in waiting until another year when a suffi-

\* Izard's correspondence.

ciently large force would have been collected for an invasion of Canada. As a means to this end he strongly recommended to Secretary Monroe, before the end of the campaign, that during the approaching winter all officers be obliged to remain with their commands. This was essential toward keeping up the efficiency of the troops, and the neglect of it had been the prime cause of the condition in which he found his men in May. Secretary Monroe, in reply, approved of this and stated that the government intended to raise a much larger army for the next campaign.

With regard to Chippewa, Izard gives very fully in his dispatches the reasons for not engaging the enemy. He was deficient in the necessary ordnance stores and artillery, and it was too late in the season to commence operations necessarily requiring time, thus prolonging the campaign into the winter, for the severity of which the army was unprepared. No national advantage could be gained by a battle, even if successful, beyond what had been gained by those of the summer, and it was an error in his opinion to have carried on active operations at a point so distant from the sources of supply. The two divisions then united composed the best army that had yet been raised, and would serve as a nucleus for the larger army to be soon recruited. To expose it to the risk of defeat would be to leave the whole frontier between Plattsburg and Niagara open to invasion. If disaster occurred the British might easily penetrate to Albany and even to New York, and not meet any force able to oppose them beyond the small numbers under Macomb at Plattsburg. Izard considered the situation carefully in his correspondence with Secretary Monroe, and when he had recrossed the Niagara river and abandoned Fort Erie as a post completely untenable during the winter, the step was fully approved by the President and the secretary.

Soon after this General Brown was ordered to Sackett's Harbor with his division and Izard remained at Buffalo. There was nothing important to do just then. He simply awaited the preparations for collecting a larger army, which it was promised should be ready by the following spring, which inactivity Mr. Adams interprets into absolute incapacity for further usefulness. His ideas for the next campaign were: "If they [the British] invade our territory, it will be, in my opinion, for the purpose of occupying both shores of the St. Lawrence. It seems to me very improbable that they will advance into the interior. The possession of the right bank of the St. Lawrence is all important to them, and therefore it is that the object of our first operations next campaign should be the establishment of a respectable fortress on that river which would interrupt its navigation and thus paralyze the upper province." An efficient army

required that "system be enforced in the various branches of the ordnance, clothing, quartermaster's, surgeon's, and pay departments," and although Izard does not say so directly, it can be inferred that a crossing into Canada at some point on the St. Lawrence river, which would threaten both Montreal and Kingston, was the plan which he would probably have adopted. Plattsburg, strengthened as it had been, would serve as a safe depot of supplies for such a movement.

Shortly after this Izard resigned finally from the army. His reasons for this seem to have been that a certain pamphlet which reflected severely but untruthfully on his conduct had been published and extensively read. The abandonment of Fort Erie was a sore disappointment, and popular favor was on the side of those generals who had fought the battles of the year, however barren they may have been of results. The professional soldier who had been so flatteringly placed at the head of the army the year before had, in the estimation of the public, proved to be a complete failure. This was because he had not fought a single battle, and because he was considered to have quailed before the British when victory was in his grasp at Chippewa. That this was the average opinion of the day one can easily learn by reading Ingersoll's estimate of Izard, written several years later. He quotes from both the abusive pamphlet and Izard's correspondence, and, while he attaches consequence to all the statements of Izard's shortcomings and incapacity, he treats his correspondence with complete ridicule. To have remained then in the army would have exposed Izard either to being dropped or to have his juniors promoted over him, and he felt there was no alternative but resignation.

In 1816 he published his correspondence with the War Department, which remains his vindication to this day. He is better understood by the professional soldier of the present, whose standpoint is the same, and who can sympathize with him for having been assigned to the artillery without his consent, by Secretary Dearborn, when the regiment of artillerists and engineers was increased to two, and the two branches of the service separated. He had been educated as an engineer, and employed as such on government works, and therefore considered that he should be included in that regiment. His resignation was just what an army officer would do to-day if similarly treated.

There was no difficulty in reaching a conclusion as to Izard's competency by the *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, the present organ of the army. In a review of my June article in its December number, 1888, it says: "The sketch conclusively proves that General Izard has been put in a mistaken position by the historian, and instead

of being held responsible for the inglorious endings of the campaigns of the Northern frontier, he should be given the credit due him for saving the troops from capture and annihilation, while he himself was hampered by close and unprofessional orders from the War Department, and ambitious wranglings among subordinates."

There was scarcely any change in the methods by which the war of 1812 was conducted from those by which the revolutionary war had succeeded, and the older generals who were veterans of the war for independence were more or less antiquated in their notions. Secretary Armstrong, who was one of them, believed to the end that a British army could easily be captured, as Burgoyne's and Cornwallis's had been, by an American army crossing into Canada and accomplishing the feat; and in a letter to General Izard of August 12, 1814, he suggests a way in which the whole of Drummond's force on the Niagara could be captured. Impartial criticism of Izard from a historian so completely wedded to the past as Armstrong can scarcely be expected, and it was therefore natural that he could not understand Izard's more scientific plan of conducting the campaign of 1814.

*G. E. Manigault.*

CHARLESTON, S. C.

## THE GUNS IN THE GRASS

### AN INCIDENT OF THE MEXICAN WAR

As hang two mighty thunderclouds  
Ere lightnings link the twain,  
So lie we and the Mexican  
On Palo Alto plain;  
And silence, solemn, dread, profound,  
Broods o'er the waiting battle-ground.

We see the foeman's musketeers  
[A host!] upon his right,  
And on his left the cavalry  
Stand, hungry for the fight;  
But that blank centre—what? Alas,  
'Tis hidden by the prairie grass!

Old Rough and Ready scans the foe;  
"I would I knew," says he,  
"Whether or no that lofty grass  
Conceals artillery.  
Could I but bring that spot in ken,  
'Twere worth to me five thousand men!"

Then forward steps Lieutenant Blake,  
Touches his hat, and says,  
"I wait command to ride and see  
What 'neath that prairie lays."  
We stand amazed: no cowards, we:  
But this is more than bravery!

"'Command!'" cries Taylor; "nay, I ne'er  
To such a deed 'command!'"  
Then bends he o'er his horse's neck  
And takes as brave a hand  
As e'er a loyal sabre bore:  
"God bless you, Blake!" he says—no more.



The soldier to his saddle springs  
And gayly waves 'good-bye,'  
Determination on his lips,  
A proud light in his eye :  
And then, as pity holds our breath,  
We see him dare that road of death.

To utmost pace he spurs the beast.  
Save that his sword hangs free,  
It were as though a madman charged  
A nation's chivalry !  
On, on, he flies, his steed unreined  
Till yonder hillock's crest is gained.

And now he checks his horse, dismounts,  
And coolly through his glass  
Surveys the phalanx of the foe  
That lies beyond the grass.  
A musket-flash ! They move ! Advance !  
Halt !—'twas the sunlight on a lance !

He turns, remounts, and speeds him back.  
Hark ! what is that we hear ?  
Across the rolling prairie rings  
A gun ? ah, no,—a cheer !  
A noble tribute sweeps the plain :  
A thousand throats take up the strain.

Safe ! But the secret to unveil  
Taylor no longer seeks ;  
For with a roar that shakes the earth  
That unmasked centre speaks !  
'Gainst fearful odds, till set of sun,  
We battle—and the field is won !

*Thos Frost-*

## A FORGOTTEN REPUBLIC

When the armies of Bonaparte entered Switzerland in 1798 to revolutionize that country, they found some purely democratic little states flourishing in the midst of oligarchies born of the dark ages. One of these, the Alpine "Republic of St. Gall," has a most unique and interesting history, long since forgotten.

Switzerland then consisted of thirteen miniature states. Some were republics at war with themselves, some oligarchies in disorder, some aristocracies, and a few were simply little dictatorships. It was to destroy these and compel the organization of a central government with a political head that Bonaparte aimed. He succeeded, and a united Switzerland soon followed, while his hand was felt in better laws and a partial wiping out of a dead political past.

It is nearly a hundred years since the career of the little state ended which is here recalled. A simpler or more peculiarly organized self-governing community has not existed since the days of ancient Greece. Perhaps the Greek democracies were the Alpine republic's model. The St. Gall patriots had the opportunity for free and independent government. They were isolated almost in the heart of the beautiful Alps, and nearly three thousand feet above the sea. Mountain scenery of the finest character surrounded them in every direction, and a thousand feet below stretched a beautiful and historic lake. This republic was five hundred years old when the French armies destroyed it. Its presidents, called burgomasters, had been elected by the people since the middle of the thirteenth century, and to-day the town register gives the record of not less than one hundred and five of these dignified worthies. Their prescribed duties were "to forward the interest and the honor of the republic, to insure to the poor, as well as to the rich, all their rights, and weekly to hold counsel with the guild-masters, the immediate representatives of the people of all trades and classes." The whole people, with uplifted hands, swore anew each year to aid and support their chosen head in faith and honor. "It is a republic," said Jacob Weglin, the historian and favorite of Frederick the Great, "where a handful of virtuous citizens accomplish what the greatest monarchs fail in. They guard their state from disorder and revolution by the simple grace of homely virtues. An habitual honor prevails there as a happy instinct."

The whole fabric of the state, in fact, was based on the uprightness and morality of its citizens. Religion was the corner-stone of the republic. A man who was not religious could not be elected to office, and a wide distinction was made between religion and simply going to church. Scrupulous honor, in an almost exaggerated form, was demanded of every man who aspired to public place; while drunkenness, vulgarity, and profanity were as great bars to preferment as common thieving. "A republic cannot depend upon armies," declared one of St. Gall's distinguished patriots. "Its only hope is in the understanding of its citizens, the strict enforcement of its laws, and the morality of its people. Understanding must take the place of muskets. The public good must be everything. A monarchy may be saved by arms, but there is no salvation for a republic except in the honor of its citizens. In my fatherland official dignities are duties. Honor there is the most important reward, and officials have more concern for the common good than for their own prosperity. There is more desire there to leave a rich inheritance to the republic than to enrich one's family at the public expense. Before the doors of our council rooms stand customs and republican ideas, keeping watch that no masked vices of politics shall slip in among us from abroad." What splendid sentiments of patriotism in a state born amid the barbarism of the dead centuries, and at a time when, in other countries, individual human rights were scarcely recognized.

Partisanship was unknown in this republic. No difference was permitted between the welfare of the citizen and the welfare of the state. Honorable men, once chosen by the people, and found fit for trusts, were retained, or re-elected year by year, so long as their special fitness lasted. The spectacle of the people dismissing an official one year who had been selected by their own votes the year before did not occur. One burgo-master, Padian, was re-elected nine times to head the government. Only once in a hundred years was there a recorded case of malfeasance in public office, and in that single case of a century the offender had his head cut off. We of the modern republic read such things with surprise. Every citizen had a vote for burgo-master, and no one dared converse with a voter as to any candidate at any place or time immediately preceding an election. With all their respect for state officials the people, nevertheless, selected two public "censors," who carefully examined into every official's public conduct twice a year. Once a year all the masters of the guilds met to consider if any change in officials or laws were needed. Their conclusions were sent to the lesser state council, with a right to appeal to the higher. It was purely a people's government. Office-holding was

sometimes compulsory, and a citizen selected by the people could be fined one thousand gulden for not accepting the trust offered him.

The methods of the courts were as peculiar as the election processes. Lawyers were not permitted in court, and written pleadings were unheard of. Trial by jury was unknown. Cases were tried by the judges personally, the most important even settled in a few hours and without expense. Dishonest lawyers and bribed juries were not a curse of this republic. True, the judges were grim, sour fellows at times, and hard sentences were pronounced against even petty offenders; but they were never accused of being "bought up," or of favoring the rich as against the poor. Law-breakers simply had a hard time of it, and there were no lawsuits for the fun of the thing. Citizenship had its proud value in this republic, and it cost one thousand gold gulden for a foreigner to have its privileges. Once secured, citizenship could not be surrendered before forty years, and then only by a forfeiting of two per cent. of one's property. Few debts were allowed, and those made for drinking could not be collected by law. Spendthrifts were put under guardianship the same as orphan children, and their property saved for their heirs.

An Italian visiting in this republic once wrote these queer observations: "The people here are great traders and manufacturers, and are noted for their integrity. Weaving linen is their great industry. There are few failures in business, and cheating is a crime. The merchants and traders are mostly nobles. They travel when young and learn all languages. Flax is spun here to the fineness of a hair. The bleaching is wonderful, owing to the pure water of the Alps. The rich own many estates in the Rhine valley, and beautiful gardens are about the town. The taxes are small, but more than support the economical government. The surplus in the treasury is loaned out to citizens at low interest, to be used in insuring factories, house-building, etc. Officers are held to terribly strict account. The blessings of Heaven rest on the republic as a reward for its charities, which are unbelievably great. No citizen is permitted to live in bitter distress. The people are extremely pious, and the men appear in church several times a day, in white collars and black mantles, while women serve God only in black dresses."

Going to church to hear wearisome sermons four or five times a day became burdensome, and this puritanical overdoing of church matters in many ways was at last done away with. The number of guests at a wedding and the costs of the dinner were settled by law, and the giving of presents limited to the immediate relatives. The thousand and one petty regulations of every-day life were, in themselves, disagreeable tyrann-

nies, but they came of the peculiar times, not of the republic. They then existed everywhere in the world. The people believed them to be for their good, and accepted them as fanatics sometimes court fire and the stake.

The little republic secured a degree of liberty a thousand times in advance of any of the monarchical systems. It was a government by the people and for the people, and its forms and sentiments are marvelous when viewed beside the tyrannies under which all Europe was groaning. Its history makes us wonder if modern republics are any improvement upon it. The citizens were a music-loving, nature-loving people. They had their simple lives, their free government, their native mountains, their picturesque valleys, their shining lakes, their musical water-falls; they were in tune with nature, and were happy. They have passed away and left us only the story of how a virtuous people, in whatever age, may happily govern themselves. When the French troops entered their country to destroy it, this little republic protested and struggled in vain. "Leave us our ancient liberty, it is good enough for us," the patriots pleaded. It was of no use. The little Alpine state that had conferred protection and freedom on its people for five centuries must die. The hour had come. On Sunday morning, May 29, 1798, for the last time, the burgomaster and city officials, in robes of office, marched in solemn procession to meet the people collected on the public square. In perfect silence and by show of hands the act was accomplished and the old republic came to an end; its very death was as simple and unostentatious as had been its whole existence.

*S H M. Byers.*

ST GALL, SWITZERLAND.



## MINOR TOPICS

### THE FIRST STREET CAR

The first means of street transportation in use in this country for the general public was the omnibus, of which the Jacob Sharp "stages" on Broadway were the last survival in the antiquated form. Within a few years a modified type of the omnibus used in Paris has made its appearance on Fifth Avenue, and within a shorter period a somewhat closer copy of the Parisian vehicle has been successfully brought into use on Broad Street, Philadelphia. For years the street car has served as the only means of transportation for the people to and from their homes, and has thus been a fruitful source of development in all the cities of this country where an imperative demand existed for cheap street travel. Enormous fortunes have been made out of these enterprises, and street-car "stock" is one of the best dividend-paying investments in the country. It is not to be wondered at that there is so much eagerness shown in securing street-railway franchises. The first street railway chartered was the New York and Harlem, April 25, 1831. This is the road now popularly known in New York city as the "Fourth Avenue." The first car was built and patented by the venerable John Stephenson, Esq., yet living, hale and hearty, at the age of eighty-one.

This car was named the "John Mason," that gentleman being president of the Chemical Bank and also of the street railway company. Mr. Stephenson has in his possession the patent and the original drawing of this car. The patent was taken out in 1833, signed by Andrew Jackson, President; Edward Livingston, Secretary of State; Roger B. Taney, Attorney-General; and John Campbell, Treasurer. These are magic names, historically great in the political story of our country, and this document, attesting as it does a complete revolution in street transportation all over the world, is of itself a valuable and interesting relic.

The car in question was a transition from the existing styles of coachwork, being the union of three Quaker coaches suspended on four short leather "thorough-braces," which afforded an ease of comfort not since excelled. Its picture represents it as a cross between an omnibus, a rockaway, and an English railway coach. It was divided on the inside into three compartments, each seating ten passengers; the roof held two seats, one at each end, with room for ten more persons.—*Harper's Weekly.*

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### SOCIETY OF THE CININNATI IN CONNECTICUT

The illustrious society of the Cincinnati, which was organized among the officers of the American army at Baron Steuben's headquarters, in Fishkill-on-the-

Hudson, in May, 1783, was divided, for convenience, into thirteen societies, one for each of the original states. Seven of these disbanded between 1800 and 1832. The Rhode Island society was reorganized in 1878, and steps are being taken to revive the Virginia society. The Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina societies have had a continuous existence.

The Connecticut society was organized in the camp at West Point, July 4, 1783. It flourished until 1804, when it went down under political persecution. It had at that time about two hundred members, and a fund of \$15,212.66. A portion of this fund was deposited in the treasury of Yale College "for safe keeping." In 1860, "certain descendants of revolutionary officers in Connecticut began to make inquiries as to what steps were necessary to revive the 'dormant' society." "On account of the disturbed state of the country," however, nothing was done until 1888, when, on the 4th of July, Hon. John Fitch, a member of the New Jersey society, with several other gentlemen, met in the capitol at Hartford, and attempted to resuscitate the institution. Judge Fitch died soon after, and the movement for that time failed. But on the 4th of July, 1889, a provisional organization was effected, and the following officers chosen: president, General Dwight Morris,\* Bridgeport; vice-president, Nathan Greene Pond, Milford; secretary, Charles H. Murray, New York city; assistant-secretary, Satterlee Swartwout, Stamford; treasurer, Charles E. Hart, New Haven; assistant-treasurer, Daniel B. Bradley, Westport; chaplain, Rev. A. N. Lewis, New Haven.

The following gentlemen attended the triennial meeting of the general society at Baltimore, May 7-10, 1890, and presented a petition for the revival of the Connecticut society. The petition was referred to a committee of one from each state to examine the claims of the petitioners. At a meeting of the committee held at New York city, June 17, 1891, the qualifications of twenty-nine of the petitioners were approved, and it was voted to recommend that the petition be granted. The revived society has now a good list of candidates, and bids fair to take an honorable place in the order.

The New Hampshire society of the Cincinnati was organized at Exeter, New Hampshire, July 4, 1783, by Major-General John Sullivan, acting under the authority of "the Honorable Major-General Baron Steuben." Thirteen officers "signed the covenant," and officers were chosen. Twenty-nine others were afterwards admitted, and three hereditary members were received. Death and emigration thinned their ranks, and on the 4th of July, 1823, only *two* members were present. In 1830 the society became extinct by the death of its last surviving member, Lieutenant Daniel Gookin. The books and papers were presented by John W. Gookin (son of Lieutenant Gookin) to the New Hampshire Historical Society, in whose custody they still remain.

A. N. LEWIS.

MONTPELIER, VERMONT, *October 30, 1891.*

## A TRIBUTE TO MRS. EMMA WILLARD

## THE FOUNDER OF TROY FEMALE SEMINARY

A beautiful thought found expression a few weeks since in a jubilee commemorative of the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the first school for the higher education of women in America. It seems a little remarkable that the graduates of such a noble institution as Troy Female Seminary should have waited through so many decades before coming together to do honor to its eminent founder, the greatest educator of her day, whose name should be honored wherever the English language is spoken. But the enthusiasm which pervaded the brilliant assemblage of two hundred women, well-known in literature, art, and the best social circles of their respective homes, who celebrated the event on the 15th of October, 1891, at the Plaza Hotel, New York city, made amends, in a sense, for the tardiness of the movement.

Mrs. Willard's work was not confined to her own land. In 1830 she visited Europe to investigate improved methods of teaching. While there she became interested in the miserable condition of the women of Greece, and on her return started a society in Troy to aid in establishing a school in Athens to educate native teachers for these descendants of classic heroines. She collected her "notes of travel" and published them in a book, devoting the proceeds to that object. She wrote many schoolbooks, one of which was a valuable treatise on astronomy. And she formulated plans and methods of teaching, by projecting normal schools long before the day of normal schools had come. The Troy Female Seminary has enriched the lives of thousands of bright women, and an influence has emanated from it that appears in the existence of many women's colleges throughout the country. Every woman who pays a tribute of honor to the memory of the pioneer in this field, Mrs. Emma Willard, honors herself.

Mrs. Russell Sage, one of the graduates of the class of 1848, presided over the unique entertainment. She is in the early sixties, but her years, despite a very busy and useful life, sit lightly upon her. She is a little above the medium height, slight, graceful, and her manners are charming. She possesses the strict business habits of her husband, which she applies to the various charitable enterprises with which she is connected, and, being a ready speaker, there are few ladies in New York who preside at societies or social gatherings with more success. An hour was devoted to a delightful reception, and then Mrs. Sage, with her guest of honor, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, on her arm, led the way to the handsome banquet hall which was tastefully decorated for the occasion. The tables were arranged as far as practicable to seat the different classes together. At the table of the president were many ladies of intellectual prominence, including Mrs. J. S. Stranahan, of Brooklyn, first vice-president, Mrs. Emma Willard Schudder, granddaughter of Emma Willard, Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, Mrs. Léon Harvier, secretary of the association, Mrs. T. E. Eddy, the treasurer, Mrs. Charles E. Patterson, Mrs. Florine Thayer

McCray, Mrs. A. J. Vanderpoel, Mrs. Charles E. Simmons, and Miss Emma P. Wilcox. Many of the courses were prepared from old recipes handed along from the bill-of-fare at the Troy Seminary, and the feast altogether was one long to be remembered. When the ladies rose from the tables they proceeded to the reception rooms, where seats had been provided, and several papers of great interest were read, the literary exercises occupying not less than two hours. One of these was by Mrs. Schudder, on the life and work of her grandmother; Miss Wilcox addressed the ladies on "The Higher Education of Women;" Mrs. Stranahan read a most able and interesting paper; and various chapters of reminiscence were presented that were quite captivating. Mrs. Willard's song, "Rocked in the cradle of the deep," was sung by Mrs. Florence Rice Knox; and a large crayon portrait of Mrs. Willard was presented to the association by Mrs. Russell Sage, Mrs. Harvier making the very graceful presentation speech in the name of the president.

#### A NOTE CONCERNING SHAKESPEARE

It is to be observed in the works of Shakespeare that his thoughts are not only wonderful and profound, but oftentimes his manner of expressing them is not less astounding than the thoughts themselves. In dwelling, for example, upon sleep and its effects, how wonderful are the words which he puts into the mouth of Macbeth, Act II., Scene 11:

"The innocent sleep,  
Sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care,  
The death of each day's life, sore labor's bath,  
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,  
Chief nourisher in life's feast."

In Hamlet, Act I., Scene 5, the ghost, in relating to the prince the manner in which his usurping brother had effected his death, gives an exact and scientific account of the effect of venomous snake-virus when injected into the system of a living subject by the reptile. In the famous soliloquy in the third act of the tragedy, after virtually asking the question, "Is life worth living?" after relating its woes, its trials, its unknown hereafter, in striking contrast he suggests how all may be ended and solved—the sorrow, the mystery—by the insignificant and contemptible instrument, "a bare bodkin." The petty thing that may end it all heightens by contrast the problems in life that confront us. In Scene 2 in the same act he shows perfect familiarity with the life of the Roman emperor Nero. As Hamlet is about to go at his mother's bidding alone to her room, he says:

"Let not ever  
The soul of Nero enter this firm bosom:  
Let me be cruel but not unnatural."

How true it is of human nature everywhere the wide world over, that, "Use can almost change the stamp of nature." Would it be possible to describe heroic

treatment in surgery in more terse and pregnant words than the following: "Diseases desperate grown, by desperate appliance are relieved"? In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act II., Scene 1, no theologian could give better advice to those who complain that their prayers are not answered than the following:

"We ignorant of ourselves  
Beg often our own harms, which the wise powers  
Deny us for our good; so find we profit  
By losing of our prayers."

Another most remarkable expression occurs in *Julius Cæsar*, Act. II, Scene 1. In order to set forth the hardening and baleful influence of worldly power and prosperity on the human heart, he says: "It is the bright day that brings forth the adder." A profound observation which might be styled, words of wisdom represented by a picture in action. Again, Shakespeare makes Othello, at the moment he is about to take his own life, recall the days of his youth and native country, by a reference which strikingly illustrates his power to hold the mirror up to nature. It is a well-known fact, that at the moment of dissolution scenes which were familiar in early life are suddenly and graphically recalled. In this instance that which recurs to Othello's mind is the fact that "the Arabian trees drop medicinal gum." His native country, Arabia, and his early life pass in review before his mind's eye at the near prospect of death. The allusion is not only sanctioned by the experience of life, but the exoteric power displayed by the expression is simply marvelous; it is not the poet but Othello who speaks.

In all the strange and enigmatical stories concerning the life of the bard of Avon, I have seen no reference to a most extraordinary expression used by John Webster, the famous dramatist, who lived during the latter part of Shakespeare's lifetime and survived him about a dozen years. In the preface to his tragedy entitled *The White Devil, or Vittoria Corombona*, printed in 1612, at least four years before Shakespeare died, John Webster writes as follows: "Detraction is the sworn friend to ignorance: for mine own part I have ever truly cherished my good opinion of other men's worthy labors, especially of that full and heightened style of Master Chapman; the labored and understanding works of Master Jonson; the no less worthy composes of the both worthily excellent Master Beaumont and Master Fletcher; and *lastly (without wrong, last to be named) the right happy and copious industry of Master Shakespeare*," et al. "Wishing what I write may be read by their light," etc. The italics are mine. Let us observe that Webster not only mentions Shakespeare *lastly*, but parenthetically adds that he does so *without wrong*; i. e., does him no injustice. And then of all the expressions that one can think of as most inapplicable to Shakespeare as regarded in our day is to characterize his position in the world of literature by the qualifying words employed by Webster, *a man of "copious industry"*. Does it not imply that he was regarded contemporaneously as the great and successful showman, and in no wise as the greatest genius that the world has ever produced?

GEORGE G. HEPBURN

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### LETTER FROM GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON TO LIEUTENANT- COLONEL WILLIAM SNODGRASS, WRITTEN IN DECEMBER, 1813

[FROM THE COLLECTION OF LAURANCE F. BOWER.]

Lieutenant Col<sup>o</sup> William Snodgrass

SIR,

I rec<sup>d</sup> your letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> instant last evening express and with regret, I learn that after my particular order to Genl. Cocke\* to pass Fort Armstrong and make all necessary arrangements for the forwarding speedily a sufficient supply of bread stuff, and other supplies for the army, that you have abandoned the building of Boats and keep your men engaged in finishing a fort in the heart of a friendly nation of Indians when you have two good block houses—We want provisions here to enable us to march forward and complete the campaign, not empty Forts finished in our rear, and our men in front without provisions—You will therefore without delay proceed to have a sufficient number of Boats finished, and have Brought from Rosses a sufficient supply of Bread stuff, and forthwith sent on here in the Boats—laying aside all other useless objects—such as finishing forts in the interior until the grand object is obtained, that is to say a sufficient supply of Breadstuffs forwarded to this point—you will forthwith send on the two hundred and twenty four head of cattle which you state are left there by the quartermaster for this army—in doing this if you have not horses you will hire Indians and draw upon the quartermaster for the same—If the quartermaster is with you it is his duty to have the cattle they supply sent on, and he ought to be there or his agent—but in case neither is with you, you will without delay have the above order carried into full execution—I am sir respectfully

Yr mo, ob<sup>t</sup>, Serv,

ANDREW JACKSON

Major Genl. commanding the corps  
in the service of Tennessee.

\* General John Cocke, b. 1772. d. 1854, was made a major-general of the East Tennessee six month volunteers in the Creek war. He afterward served as colonel of a Tennessee regiment in the battle of New Orleans. He was a member of congress from Tennessee from 6. December 1819 till March 3. 1827.



## NOTES

**MATHEMATICAL INSTRUCTION** — The delusion will soon vanish that the average college student is not able to grasp the more advanced branches of exact science. These do not lie beyond the reach of good common minds, nor require peculiar mental characteristics for their mastery. "One of the causes of the bad instruction in our colleges has been the system of tutorships. Fortunately this relic of scholasticism is now rapidly disappearing. Young students, who needed a skilled teacher of long experience to guide them, and to awaken in them a spirit of free inquiry, were intrusted to inexperienced youths who had just graduated from college, and who had themselves never felt the glow of the spirit of independent inquiry. Students did not find their mathematics interesting, nor did they understand it well. Their hatred of mathematics had its cause in these two facts, which stand in the closest possible connection with each other—either the study failed of being understood because it was uninteresting, or it awakened no interest because it was not well understood. The great desideratum in our preparatory schools and colleges has been less memorizing, less cramming, more thorough training in the fundamental branches, more object teaching, more drill, more frequent and well-guided original inquiries, greater freedom from formalism, a stronger spirit of free inquiry."—*Teaching and History of Mathematics in the United States*. Florian Cajori MS.

**CAPTAIN WILLIAM LESLIE** — "The Earl of Leven has written a letter from Roehampton House, Roehampton, England, to Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., the author of 'The Story of an Old Farm ; or, Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century,' thanking him for the tribute he pays in his book to the Earl's great-uncle, Captain William Leslie, of the Seventeenth British regiment of foot. This young officer was wounded at the battle of Princeton, January 3d, 1777, and Mr. Mellick in his work gives a very full and interesting account of Captain Leslie's death on the following day at Pluckamin, and of the impressive funeral ceremonies on Sunday, the sixth, in the Lutheran graveyard of that village, where the young officer still lies buried."

**THE AMERICAN INDIAN**—In the new work of John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, the following passage appears: "The notion that the American Indian will not work is a fallacious one ; he will work just as the white man will, when it is to his advantage to do so. The adobes in the military post of Fort Wingate, New Mexico, were all made by Navajo Indians, the brothers of the Apaches. The same tribe did no small amount of work on the grading of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad when it passed through that country. The American Indian is a slave to drink when he can get it, and he is rarely without a supply from white sources ; he is a slave to the passion of gaming ; and he is a slave to his superstitions,

which make the 'medicine men' the power they are in tribal affairs, as well as in those relating more strictly to the clan and the family. These are the three stumbling-blocks in the pathway of the Indian's advancement."

#### ROCHAMBEAU'S BROKEN COACH—

When the great French general was on his way to meet Washington in Connecticut, in September of the year 1781, he was accompanied by Admiral de Ternay, who was suffering grievously with the gout. "During the night, in the vicinity of Windham, the carriage broke down, and the general was obliged to send his first aid-de-camp, De Fersen, a mile from the place of accident, to seek a wheelwright. Fersen returned to say that he had found a man ill with malarial fever, who had replied to him that if they filled his hat with guineas they could not make him work at night. Rochambeau and De Ternay were obliged, therefore, to go together to entreat this wheelwright; they told him that General Washington would arrive that night at Hartford, to confer with them the next day, and that the inter-

view would fail if he did not mend the coach. 'You are not liars,' said he, to them; 'I have read in the *Connecticut Journal* that Washington is to arrive there this evening to confer with you; I see that it is the public service; you shall have your coach ready at six o'clock in the morning.' He kept his word, and the commanding officers were able to set out at the appointed hour. On their return, and at about the same place, a wheel was again broken. The wheelwright, who was once more sent for, said to them, 'Well! you again wish me to work at night?' 'Alas, yes,' said Rochambeau. 'Admiral Rodney has arrived to triple the naval force that is opposed to us, and it is very urgent that we should be at Rhode Island to oppose his plans.' 'But what are you going to do with your six ships against twenty-eight vessels?' Rochambeau replied, 'It will be the grandest day of our lives if they attempt to attack us in our roadstead.' 'Come,' said the wheelwright, 'you are a brave people; you shall have your carriage at five o'clock in the morning.'"—*The French in America*, edited by Thomas Willing Balch.

### QUERIES

THE HARLEIAN COLLECTION—I often find references to this collection in the British Museum, which I understand was purchased by Parliament in the reign of George IV. Will some reader

of the *Magazine of American History* inform me what it contains?

INVESTIGATOR

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

### REPLIES

SITE OF JOHN STREET THEATRE [xxvi. 396]—This building, on the northerly side of John street, between Broadway

and Nassau street, stood on lots Nos. 70, 71, and 72, of the divisional map of the Shoemakers' pasture, as laid out in

1696. These lots were each  $25\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, presenting a frontage of about 77 feet, and ran back to the centre line of the block. No. 70 began  $185\frac{1}{2}$  feet east of Broadway, and was 125 feet deep, while the easterly side of the further lot, No. 72, owing to the slant of the street, was 136 feet deep, and was 102 west of Nassau street. These measurements were approximate only.

The theatre was built in 1767, and a description of it is given by Wm. Dunlap, who in later years had been one of its managers, in his *History of the American Theatre*, vol. i., p. 51. Its location is given on various city maps prior to 1800; notably so on Lieutenant Ratzen's plan of 1767 (*Valentine's Manual*, 1854).

The New or Park theatre opening in January, 1798, the old John street place was abandoned, and subsequently sold off in lots, having been divided, according to a survey made in May, 1798, into three front lots, each of about twenty-two feet eight inches in width, facing on the street, with a common passage-way nine feet wide to the west of them, which was to be kept open *in perpetuo*, and which, running back some seventy-five feet, widened out into a court of twenty feet, on which faced (westwardly) three more rear lots, each about seventeen feet wide and fifty-seven feet deep (*City Conveyances*, Lib. 74, f. 185, with map). The passage-way, to the east of Thorburn's seed-store, is now known as No. 17, and the three adjoining front lots are Nos. 19, 21, and 23 John street.

I. J. G.

SITE OF JOHN STREET THEATRE  
[xxvi. 396]—I have in my possession

three unrecorded deeds, for a house and lot owned in the latter part of the last century by "John Carman, schoolmaster," and sold by him to "Anthony Simmons, cartman." By these deeds "John Burns, marriner," and "wife Ruth widow of Anthony Simmons" (December 7, 1797), John Tilton and wife Hester (May 20, 1798), and Adrian Servant of Orange county, and wife Mary (December 1, 1796), convey to Joseph Winter, "attorney at law," a house and lot in the city of New York, "bounded north by a certain street called Fair street, east by the house and ground of Isaac Meade, west by the house and ground now or late of Doctor Vacker, and south by the *old play house or the old theatre*." This is now number 140 Fulton street. The old theatre stood in the middle of the block, between the lot above mentioned, and No. 21 John street. The house of Doctor Vacker, 142 Fulton street, was for some time after the Revolution the home of Baron Steuben.

WM. S. PELLETREAU

OLDEST TOMBSTONE IN NEW YORK  
[xxvi. 396]—In an old cemetery on Shelter Island there are some ancient headstones, supposed to have been erected over the graves of exiled Quakers, who sought a refuge from Puritan persecution when Nathaniel and Constant Sylvesters owned Shelter Island. The names are Hudson and Brown, but I cannot now recall the exact dates. I think they were about 1660. The Sylvesters owned Shelter Island from 1651 until the latter part of that century.

CHAS. H. GARDINER  
RECTOR ST. MARY'S CHURCH,  
SHELTER ISLAND.

## BOOK NOTICES

ON THE BORDER WITH CROOK. By JOHN G. BOURKE, Captain 3d Cavalry, U. S. A. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 491. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The United States have no longer a "border" or frontier in the sense used by Captain Bourke in his title—a frontier, that is, beyond which one ventured at his own risk, and with a very fair chance of losing his life and his scalp. On one side of this somewhat undefined line was a borderland of comparative security, on the other were roving bands of warlike savages whose normal condition was inter-tribal warfare and who were never quite so happy as when they were "staked down" a captive white man, and lighting fires of little sticks on the most sensitive parts of his naked person. Shortly after the Mexican war there began to be a frontier on the Pacific Slope which moved slowly eastward to meet the greater movement of pioneer settlement advancing from the Atlantic. An interesting map might be compiled, showing the movement of these frontier lines from year to year, or from decade to decade, and the requisite data need not be very difficult of access. Possibly these remarks may seem somewhat discursive, but the perusal of Captain Bourke's narrative is so full of suggestion touching conditions now gone forever, that the reader can but acknowledge his indebtedness for favors received and ask for more. The author was a member of General Crook's personal staff and served with him for fifteen years, taking part in the arduous campaigns that finally reduced to subjection the warrior Apache tribe. The narrative is full of Indian lore, and of curious information about the country that saw their last stand for the savage freedom of their race. The author is evidently an observant student, not only in the line of his profession, but of the details of border life. His experiences are very unlike those depicted in the dime novel that has Indian fighting for its motive, and the enterprising youth who would run away from home to fight Indians after conning its pages must be of a hopelessly bloodthirsty disposition. The facts of actual campaigning, indeed, whether against Indians or against a civilized foe, are made up of about ninety-nine parts of endurance, hardship, and grim fidelity to duty, with one part of actual fighting under the stimulus of whistling bullets.

Upon the whole the book is one of the best of its class since Catlin, and to the thoughtful reader it presents a picture of American army life very different from that usually conceived. Of course General Crook, the most successful of our Indian fighters, is the central figure, and

while the narrative is in no sense a biography it follows pretty closely the campaign that gave him his enviable reputation, and the wise policy that enabled him in most cases to secure the permanent fruits of victory for the advance-guard of pioneer civilization.

It is by no means creditable to the American public that it holds the lives of its professional soldiers and sailors so cheap. We know of but one journal—*Harper's Weekly*—that evinces a distinct purpose to honor the two arms of the service. When a young English officer distinguishes himself in fighting a Burmese army with a handful of men, the world rings with the story, and he promptly gets the Victoria Cross and promotion. His American cousin under like circumstances faces equal perils and wins or loses, knowing well that few will ever hear of his achievements, and that if he is lucky enough to get the United States Medal of Honor very few of his fellow citizens will be any the wiser. Few of them, indeed, have ever heard of such a medal and would not recognize it if they saw it.

We cordially commend Captain Bourke's book to all readers. In literary style it will hardly bear comparison with the works of Grant and Sherman, but it tells its own story without pretence, and with its handsome binding, illustrations and letter-press is a worthy contribution to the history of a race that will soon be remembered only by the names that they have given to our mountains, lakes, and rivers.

HOMES OF OUR FOREFATHERS in Boston, England, and in Boston, New England. From original drawings by EDWARD WHITFIELD. Royal quarto. pp. 138. Price in half morocco, \$15.00. E. Whitfield, 211 Tremont Street, Boston.

This volume is one of very great value. For several years the author has been engaged in writing about the places of historic interest in England and in New England, and has with the skill of an artist made the most careful and accurate drawings of the oldest houses and buildings within his reach, which will soon be among the things that are past. He has performed a service which could only have been done by an enthusiastic antiquarian, and from which no adequate pecuniary reward can ever be anticipated. It becomes, therefore, all the more important, as time goes on, that this interesting volume should be secured for the libraries and historical societies of the country, as the edition is necessarily a small one.

It contains not less than sixty colored illustrations, mounted on bristol board, with histori-

cal descriptions of each picture. Here is the "Three Turns Inn," a noted old tavern famous for the incident of its having sheltered Oliver Cromwell the night before he fought the important battle of Winceby—a wonderfully quaint building on account of its zig-zag architecture. The Old State House in Boston forms in the colors used a rich and beautiful picture, the finest one we have ever seen. The Auchmuty house, on the corner of Washington and Cliff streets, Boston, built about 1756 by Judge Auchmuty, a member of Governor Hutchinson's council, is an excellent and most pleasing picture. It was in this house that Governor Sumner lived and died. The Curtis house, near the Boylston station on the Providence road, was built by William Curtis about 1640, and was always in possession of his descendants until its recent sale. The picturesque old feather store, corner of North street and Dock square, Boston, was built about 1680, with overhanging stories and many gables. The old house where Edward Everett was born in 1794, on the corner of Boston and Pond streets, makes a very interesting and illustrative picture; as does also the antique Wells mansion, with projecting stories, built about 1670. The Aspinwall house in Brookline was built about 1660 by Peter Aspinwall, and has been owned by that family ever since. The Capen house was for several generations owned and occupied by the Capen family. It was once the great dry goods store of Boston, and here Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford) and Samuel Parkman served as apprentices to Hopedill Capen. The coloring of these pictures is exceedingly fine, and the whole volume is a delightful study. It will grow in value with the years, and it should be possessed by every lover of historic-art and architecture.

#### THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE EARTH.

A popular account of Geological History. By Rev. H. N. HUTCHINSON, B. A., F. G. S., with twenty-seven illustrations. 16mo. pp. 290. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Good autobiographies are rare, but when really good they are most interesting reading. Almost of necessity they require intelligent and judicious editing, for one who writes his own life is apt to be prolix, and to this rule our common Mother Earth is no exception, for according to high authority she has been many millions of years 'writing her own memoirs. Successfully to condense her voluminous works into one duodecimo is a task calling for no little editorial ability. Mr. Hutchinson seems to have approached his task with a keen appreciation of its difficulties, and he has accomplished it with such success that a subject usually dry and uninviting acquires a living interest in his

hands. A paper in the *Popular Science Monthly* for November asks, "Do we teach geology?" To a certain extent the volume before us answers the question in the affirmative.

#### HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF PLAINFIELD, HAMPSHIRE COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, From its Settlement to 1891.

By CHARLES N. DYER. 8vo. pp. 187. Press of Gazette Printing Company, Northampton, Massachusetts.

This town is situated on the range of hills next east of the Berkshire hills, and its territory is six miles long by four wide. It is within easy driving distance of ten or fifteen miles (in almost any direction) of railways, but none of the modern improvements of travel have ever penetrated its quietude. It is an agricultural district, sparsely settled, but in the past it has acquired no little distinction from having sent out into the busy world a great many educated Christian ministers, authors, and editors. The Rev. Moses Hallock taught a classical school here in the early part of the century, in connection with his pastorate, in which many students were prepared for Williams College, who afterwards were strong, influential men. One of Mr. Hallock's four sons founded the *Journal of Commerce*, and another the American Tract Society. One of the four sons of Deacon Richards was the missionary to the Sandwich Islands whose piety, tact, and statesmanship were of such moment to the government in its transition from a barbaric state. He prepared the first constitution and code of laws for that nation, and was the first diplomatist sent from the Sandwich Islands to the United States government. William Cullen Bryant was one of the pupils in the Plainfield classical school. Charles Dudley Warner was born at a later date in Plainfield. The volume before us, although written purely from a local standpoint, and in no sense comprehensive or complete, contains some genealogy. It is interesting from its associations, and welcome to all those who are familiar with the history on which it is based. It touches, like every similar work, upon a great variety of town affairs, and preserves many pleasing anecdotes of a local character. Every son and daughter of Plainfield will wish to possess a copy.

THE FRENCH IN AMERICA during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783. A translation by THOMAS WILKING BALCH of *Les Français en Amérique* par Thomas Balch. 8vo. pp. 243. Philadelphia, 1891: Porter and Coates.

When the late Thomas Balch died, a learned



gentleman who is affectionately remembered by his associates in the Pennsylvania Historical Society and by the bar of Philadelphia of which he was a prominent member, he left a second volume in manuscript of his book *The French in America*, which was published in Paris in the French language in 1872, and attracted much attention at the time by those best entitled to speak of its merits. His youngest son has now translated that volume into English and published it in most attractive form, and in his prefatory note foreshadows the probability of translating the hitherto unpublished manuscripts at no very distant date for a companion volume. This work of Mr. Balch furnishes an interesting sketch of the origin and events of the Revolutionary War and a detailed account of the French force under Rochambeau, which contributed so largely to the results of the struggle. It contains also valuable statements concerning the French regiments, and descriptions of the officers and volunteers who led them with such distinguished gallantry. It is illustrated with maps, one of them now printed for the first time, giving the student of the military history of the country great assistance in arriving at correct conclusions in regard to Revolutionary events. The pictures of contemporaneous American life as described by the French officers in their journals and letters is particularly useful and entertaining. The translation seems to have been admirably accomplished. Messrs. Balch, both father and son, represent the highest culture, historical and literary, as well as mastery of the French language, and their good work will be cordially appreciated by scholars everywhere.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA. From April 20, 1888, to April 13, 1891. Vol. II., 8vo, pp. 188. Published by the Society.

This volume embraces many of the excellent papers which have been read before the society from time to time during the period, and is of timely interest. It opens with an address of Hon. John Jay, President of the Society, and it includes "The Huguenots of the Desert," by Henry M. Baird, D.D., LL.D., of the Uni-

versity of New York; "The Career and Times of Nicholas Bayard," by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb; "Philip Freneau, the Huguenot Patriot Poet of the Revolution, and his Poetry," by Edward F. De Lancey; "History of the Edict of Nantes," by Philip Schaff, D.D. LL.D.; "Waifs and Strays of American History," by Edward Wakefield; "The Bayard Family of America, and Judge Bayard's London Diary of 1795-96," by General James Grant Wilson; and the "Retribution of Louis XIV.," by James W. Gerard, LL.D. It has been prepared by the Publication Committee of the society, Professor J. K. Rees of Columbia college, Peter B. Olney, and Professor Allan Marquand of Princeton, with much taste, and is admirably printed on choice paper.

THE SABBATH IN PURITAN NEW ENGLAND. By ALICE MORSE EARLE. 12mo, pp. 335. New York, 1891: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This clever little book is crowded with interesting facts. The meeting house, the noon house, the music, the psalm book, the ministers, the congregations—everything pertaining to the early New England Sunday is pictured in it by means of statistics and anecdotes so abundant that the reader will be filled with wonder by reason of them. We read how "Parson Rolinson, of Duxbury, persisted in wearing in the pulpit, as part of his clerical attire, a round jacket instead of the suitable gown or Geneva cloak. But, with astonishing inconsistency, he objected to the village blacksmith's wearing his leathern apron into the church, and he assailed the offender again and again with words and hints from his pulpit. He was at last worsted by the grimaces of the victorious smith, and indignantly left the pulpit, ejaculating 'I'll not preach while that man sits before me.' A remonstrating parishioner said to the minister, 'I'd not have left if the devil sat there.' 'Neither would I,' was the quick answer." We also read of Parson Judson, of Taunton, who "was so lazy that he used to preach while sitting down in the pulpit." On a gravestone in Watertown was recorded, of one parson, that he was a "pious and painful preacher."



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